

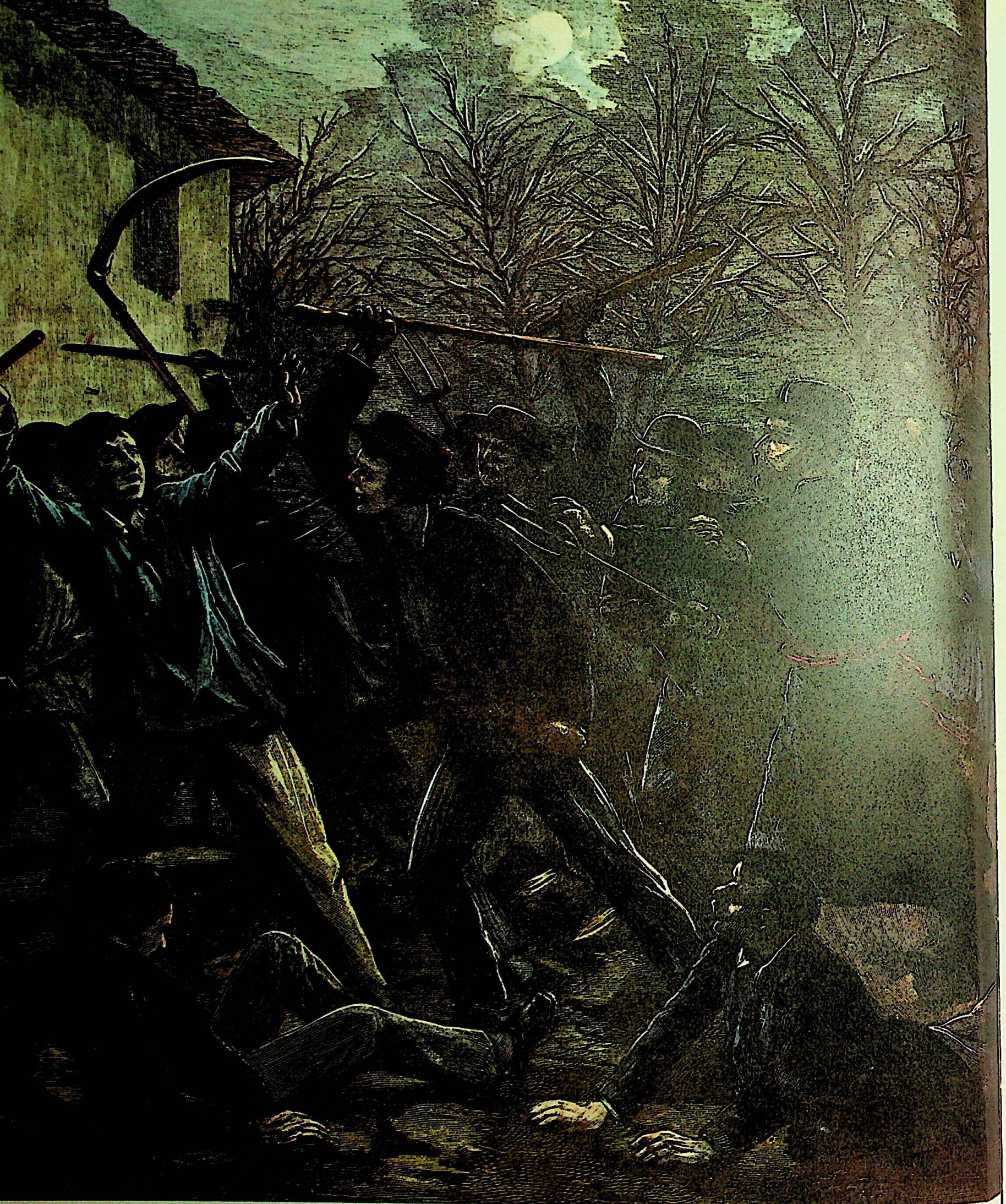






The Hamlyn History
of the World in Colour
Volume Seventeen

IMPERIALISM AND THE BALANCE OF POWER



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Introduction

BY GEORGE SHEPPERSON

The nineteenth century had no monopoly of nationalism and imperialism—they seem to be as old as the earliest, organised human societies. But it was in the nineteenth century that the search for power and glory, the essential element in nationalism and imperialism at any time, was intensified by forces largely unknown in previous ages. Historians may debate which of these forces was the most influential in the promotion of nationalism and imperialism, but there is little doubt about what, in the main, they were: challenging developments and discoveries in science and technology which placed into men's hands—particularly into white men's hands—powerful agents for both construction and destruction; profound changes in the economic and social systems of Europe and America; the tensions of democracy; severe threats to the traditional faiths; and the agonising search for new ones.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Europe and its white offspring overseas were well advanced in the process of transforming themselves into areas in which new nation-states, flush with the enthusiasms and pretensions of novelty, co-existed uneasily with the older countries. Impelled by the new and often ill-understood forces of the century, both the old and the new nation-states of Europe found that the customary means of preserving their freedom of action by balancing their power, the one against the other, were no longer adequate; and, in the process of discovering new ones, changed not only themselves but the world overseas—white, black, brown and yellow.

It is not accidental that this volume should begin and end with accounts of the relations of white men with the old civilisations of the East, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. By this time, the wheel which Europe had set in motion in the thirteenth century with such ventures as Marco Polo's journeys across Asia was coming full circle. The awe of white men at the power and the wealth of the East was being replaced by the East's respect for the power and wealth of white men.

In this process, the United States of America, that part of the New World upon which Europeans had stumbled accidentally in the fifteenth century in their search for the lands and riches of the East, was to play an important part. Indeed, it could be argued that the arrival in Tokyo Bay of the

American naval expedition under the command of the militantly-minded Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853 was as important an event in the relations of white men with the non-European world as Columbus' voyage to the Caribbean in 1492.

It is not possible in this volume, which is devoted largely to Europe and its influence overseas, to say much about the contribution of the United States to nationalism and imperialism in the nineteenth century. Nor is it possible to discuss in any detail the disturbing effect which the remarkable growth of American political, economic and technological strength had upon the balance of power in Europe. But the growing power of the United States throughout the nineteenth century must be kept constantly in mind if the events described and illustrated in this volume are to be seen in their proper perspective. The powers and peoples of Europe rarely acted in any sphere (political, economic, social or ideological) without some consideration of the American position.

Even the literature and language of the imperialism of the late nineteenth century reflected this. When, for example, Hilaire Belloc, the Anglo-French writer, produced in 1898 his satirical poem, *The Modern Traveller*, on the advances of the British Empire in tropical Africa, the famous couplet which he assigned to an English adventurer facing a crowd of hostile Africans,

'Whatever happens, we have got
The Maxim gun and they have not'

would have been impossible had not the inventor of this weapon been one Hiram Maxim, a gentleman of American origins. Hiram's brother, Hudson, an expert on explosives, also gave his name to a means of destruction—maximite (a high-explosive bursting powder for use in torpedoes), which helped to change the fate of nations and empires in Europe and in Europe's spheres of influence elsewhere. And when Rudyard Kipling produced his celebrated poem on the responsibilities of imperialism, this was stimulated by the American victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898, which made them heirs to the remains of the Spanish Empire in the Pacific and the Caribbean. Addressing his poem to these new American imperialists, Kipling de-

clared that they must also take up 'the white man's burden'. This hypnotic and deceptive expression, indeed, might never have been coined if Kipling had not kept the United States constantly in mind.

Yet the core of what the great English writer, John A. Hobson, called 'the new imperialism', of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, remained European. This volume, accordingly, concentrates on those issues in European history which promoted it, in particular, the challenge to the conventional balance of power in Europe by the unification of the German and Italian nation-states in the 1870s. The new Germany precipitated the new imperialism. The overthrow of the French Second Empire by the leaders of German nationalism, the Prussians, at the battle of Sedan on 1 September 1870, was an ignominious defeat for the nation which had produced Napoleon I.

His nephew, the French emperor Napoleon III, who had all of his uncle's pretensions but little of his power and ability, was taken prisoner. The French nation—especially its army, with its ambitious officer class—could seek consolation in the extension of its overseas empire. Not for nothing did the English imperialist, F. D. Lugard, himself an ambitious army officer actively engaged in extending British territory in tropical Africa, say in 1893 that the Franco-Prussian War was indisputably linked to the scramble for Africa by the powers of Europe. Strangely enough, it was the pretensions of Napoleon III and his Second Empire, before its *débâcle* in 1870, which launched the term 'imperialism' into the popular speech of Europe. But, in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, the term was to acquire a variety of meanings which owed little to the Second Empire.

Most of all, perhaps, under the influence of the socialists and Marxists, the term 'imperialism' came to signify economic rather than political pressures behind the overseas expansion of the white nations. Undoubtedly, there were very important economic pressures behind the new imperialism. But there were also powerful political forces at work—if, of course, it is ever possible or realistic to attempt to disentangle political and economic elements. The new nationalism, in all its complexity, was one of them. And, as the influential German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche,

who died at the beginning of the twentieth century, pointed out, there was the basic human drive of the will to power, flowing into the new European expansionist channels.

There was also an element in the new imperialism which can be too easily overlooked: disgust at the achievements and values of Europe, and the escape to the so-called 'uncivilised' lands overseas. Arthur Rimbaud, the French poet who served in the army of the Paris Commune in 1871 but who deserted France, in disgust at the Western world, to wander in Asia and Africa for the remaining sixteen years of his life, exemplifies this tendency. There was a *fin de siècle* pessimism about such men, which the Jewish-Hungarian writer, Max Nordau, discussed pungently in his *Degeneration* of 1895. Nordau was an ardent Zionist who believed that the Jews should accept the offer of land by the British in their new possession of East Africa. For Nordau's pains, an attempt was made on his life by a Jew who was opposed to the scheme to found a new Zion in East Africa. It was psychological and political problems of this sort which made the pattern of the new imperialism more complex.

To complicate this even further, there were the reactions to the new imperialism and nationalism of Europe in the overseas lands to which they penetrated. In 1896, for example, the Ethiopian emperor, Menelek II, defeated the Italians at Adowa, forcing them to sign a treaty which recognised the absolute independence of his country. Nine years later, a resurgent Japanese nationalism, having learnt well the industrial and military techniques of the West since Commodore Perry's visit half a century before, defeated the Russians and stripped them of some of their empire. Within a decade, the imperial pretensions of two white nations had been defeated by two 'coloured' countries. The new imperialism of Europe continued to search 'wider still and wider'; but it was now less sure of itself, since it was compelled to consider the threat of what the new, cheap, popular press called the 'black peril' and the 'yellow peril'. The age of European dominance, apparently at the peak of its power at the beginning of the new century, could already be seen drawing to a close.

It was a melodramatic period, for

nationalism and imperialism, in the context of emerging mass cultures and mass production, could hardly escape sensationalism and emotionalism. One of the attractive features of this volume is that its colourful, evocative illustrations catch so much of the spirit of this turbulent age. And Dr Rice's text guides the reader carefully into many of the fields, at home and abroad, in which this perturbed spirit sought expression.





Europe and the Far East

Western merchants infiltrate China—an ancient civilisation unable to compete with the brute strength of the Europeans; Japan combats European force and ambition by westernising herself.

During the nineteenth century all the European powers became interested in the Far East. Their quest for new markets, for trading bases and naval bases, violently altered the long course of Asian history. Their intervention came with dramatic suddenness. The Chinese and Japanese empires had always been virtually closed to Europeans. With the Opium War and Commodore Perry's expedition, however, the West forced itself into their affairs. At the same time, Britain, France, and the United States seized new possessions in the Pacific and on the coast of Asia itself.

China under the Manchus

The Manchu dynasty, which had controlled China since seizing power from the Ming in 1644, reached its greatest heights 150 years later. The Manchu empire reached its

widest extent in the sixty-year reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736-96). Mongolia and Tibet were subdued, and Nepal, Burma, Vietnam, and Korea forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty. All these nations, as well as Japan, were now required to pay annual tribute at Peking by having their envoys perform their nine kneelings and three prostrations before the emperor. Never having experienced serious challenge to Manchu power, Ch'ien Lung also required Europeans, including Lord Macartney, George III's ambassador, to go through the same process. This only represented a natural obeisance to the ruler of the empire at the centre of the earth. However, with Ch'ien Lung's death in 1796 the Manchu decline began, as Western demands on China became more insistent.

The empire was crippled by its own enormous size. Foreigners though they

were, the Manchu had not changed the traditional forms of Chinese government, and still relied on the three classes of soldiers, gentry, and scholars. Their simple administration was eventually to prove inadequate to rule territory even greater in extent than modern China. In spite of the constant threat of rebellion on the fringes of the empire, the gigantic task of guarding its lengthy frontiers was entrusted to a tiny army of 300,000 men. However well it managed to deal with the border barbarians, it could offer little opposition to

Above: British East Indiamen off Hong Kong. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) Soon after this print was designed, Western steam vessels helped crush the power of the Manchu emperors of China in the Opium War.

The culture and industry of the 'Middle Kingdom' had reached an extremely high level, as these original Chinese paintings from the Bibliothèque Nationale indicate. Below: a customer browses in a bookshop. Right: mine owner and miner. Far right: a primitive supply of ice cubes. Far right below: oil being purified.



well-armed and disciplined European troops. As for the nobility, both provincial dignitaries and those in attendance at court lived luxuriously, but had very little real power. Even their position as members of the gentry caste depended on the whim of the emperors, who worked on the sensible principle that the best way to keep the nobility obedient was to keep them idle. All those to whom power was delegated remained personally responsible to the emperor, which became a real disadvantage as the abilities of the emperors declined after Ch'ien Lung's death.

The real machinery of Chinese government was in the hands of the class of Confucian scholars whom the Europeans usually called mandarins. They were by no means a hereditary caste, and were selected by a process of examination more rigorous than the ones used to appoint civil servants in the West before the late nineteenth century. After showing satisfactory knowledge of the writings of Confucius, candidates were examined in the science of calligraphy, still

greatly respected in China and Japan. If accepted, they could expect positions in one of the various ranks in the imperial bureaucracy. The majority of civil servants chosen in this way were intelligent and relatively efficient. However, since their salaries were low and they had private means only if they came from the gentry class, they remained woefully open to bribery. This became a disastrous defect when Europeans began to compete for their assistance.

The 'outer barbarians'

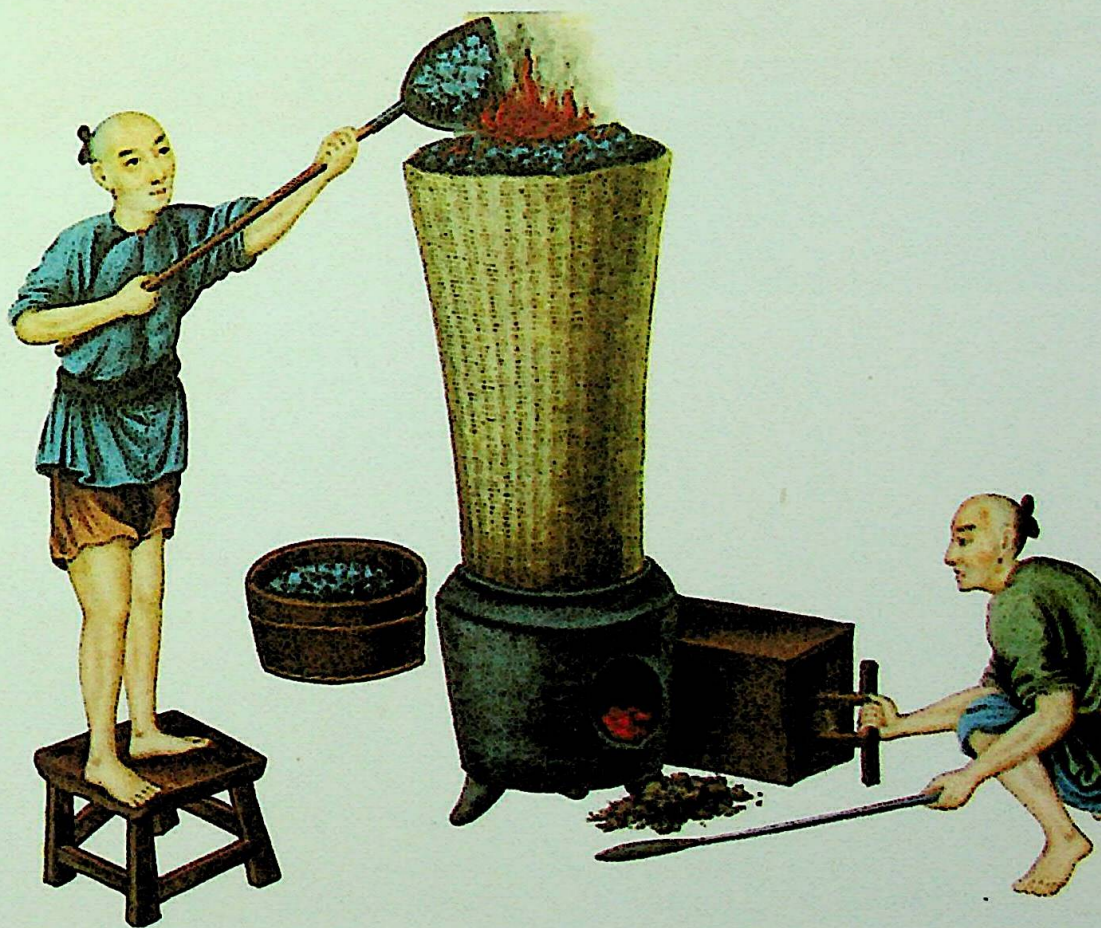
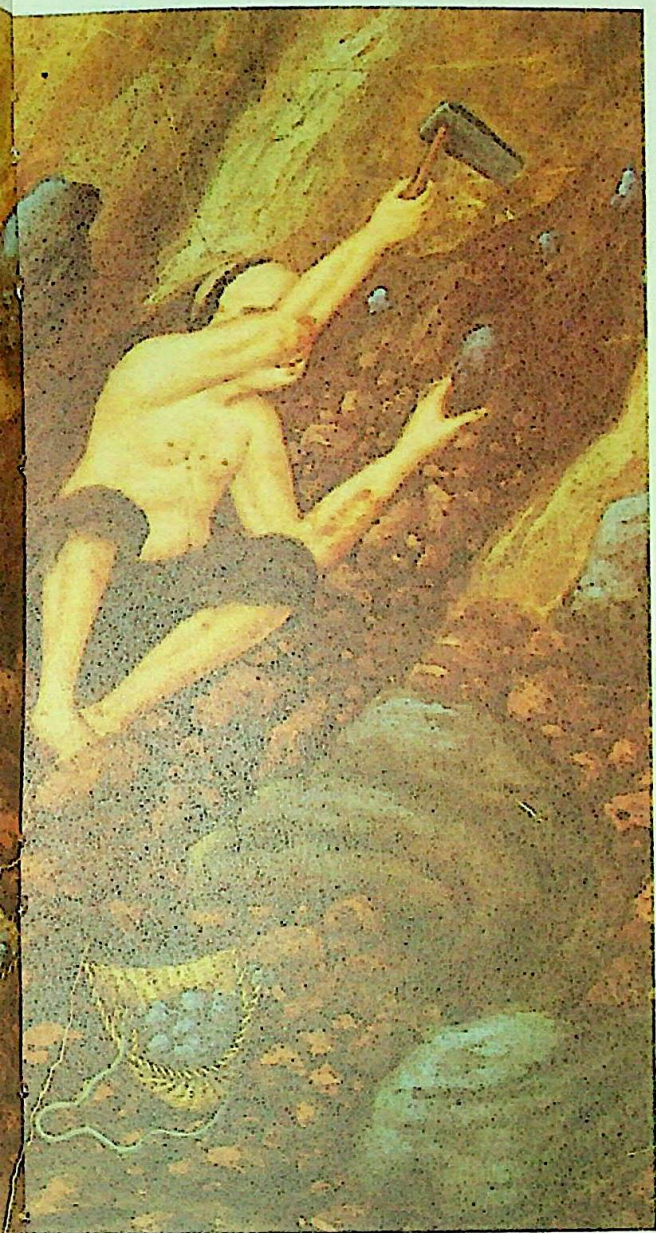
This enormous empire seemed bewildering to the Westerners who confronted it. As it became more familiar, unfortunately, their bewilderment gave way to contempt. Cut off from their own culture by the vast distance between Europe and Asia, the early imperialists had no doubt of the superiority of Christian civilisation over what they saw around them in China. Even the ancient religion and philosophy of the Taoists, Buddhists, and Confucians, they

considered a hotch-potch of aimless and backward superstitions. For instance, the Anglo-Dutch missionary Charles Gutzlaff confidently announced that,

'The religion and mythology of the Chinese is a dark and cheerless system, blending, with anomalous incongruity, atheism, and the lowest kinds of polytheism'.

A growing stream of Catholic and Protestant missionaries set out for China in the nineteenth century to try to remedy this alarming situation.

Misunderstanding was not confined to the European side. The Chinese probably tolerated the first Western visitors because they appeared so ridiculous. Physically clumsy and evidently from some low form of racial stock, they also became the butt of many Chinese jokes because of their perverse insistence on facing the tropics dressed in broadcloth frock-coats and starched shirts. The Chinese simply misunderstood the vast forces which were about to destroy





Huge but clumsy Chinese junks like these had been trading as far away as East Africa in the ninth century. But they had little chance of defending the empire from European navies during and after the Opium War. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





Left: a reproduction of a Chinese sketch of an English sailor in 1839, shortly before the outbreak of the Opium War between Britain and China. To the Chinese, who have no body hair, all Europeans were 'hairy ones'.

Below: an incident in Sai-Lau Creek on the Canton River during the war waged against China by Britain and France. English newspapers naturally depicted the Chinese as the aggressor during the Chinese wars. This illustration is from the Illustrated London News of 6 March 1858.

Below right: the camp of the Sikh Cavalry at Kowloon, opposite Hong Kong in October 1860. Indian troops were always the most formidable used by the British during their imperial campaigns.



their civilisation. Nothing shows this better than the stories of mandarins who were shown European books but concluded they must be worthless because the characters read from left to right instead of up and down the page as in Chinese.

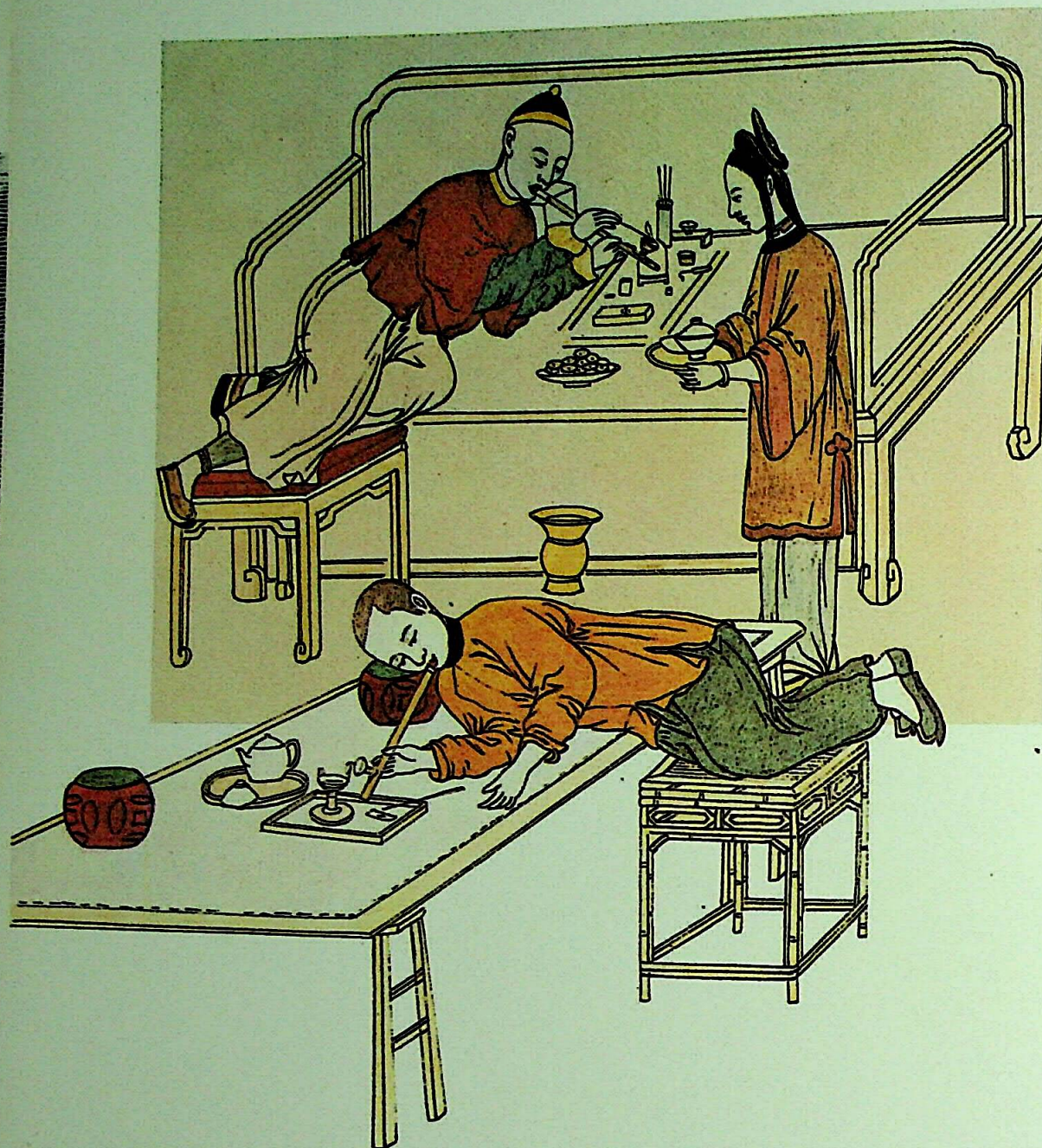
Accustomed to think of China as the 'middle kingdom', many Chinese imagined Europe was a tiny island, peopled by a few merchants kept alive only by their commerce with China. Yet the barbarians were apparently harmless, and their attempts at diplomacy were greeted with contempt. Although Macartney was eventually received by Ch'ien Lung, the British mission of 1816 under Lord Amherst was again ordered to go through the humiliating kowtow, before the Chia Ch'ing emperor.

Militant merchants

Although such difficulties meant that diplomatic contacts between Britain and the Chinese court were virtually broken off, Western merchants were becoming more and more interested in Chinese commerce. Apart from silks, lacquer work, and porcelain, Britain alone imported 30,000,000 lbs of China tea in 1830, and seemed likely to consume more every year. The risk of the China trade was high but the stakes were higher.

In spite of the fabulous profits to be made, European merchants were constantly humiliated by Chinese commercial restrictions. Trading was confined to Canton, where some individual British merchants had been





given the right to establish factories after the removal of the East India Company's monopoly. But they had to deal through the Co-Hong merchant guild, which was completely in control of prices. European law was not observed, and they had no protection if cheated. They were constantly irked by restrictions on the free movement of their womenfolk, and their hiring of servants. None of these, however, was as bad as the monopoly of the Co-Hong. Free traders to a man, European merchants saw Chinese business life as barbaric. By the eighteen-forties, they were only too glad of an excuse to have the British government intervene to improve their position.

The Opium War

One of the problems of the Western merchants was the lack of any trade goods which the Chinese wanted to buy. To do the Manchu justice, one of their reasons for their contempt for the West was that the Celestial Kingdom was self-sufficient. It

simply had no need for the products of industrial Europe. As Ch'ien Lung wrote to George III,

'... we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures'.

Only British commercial genius could have worked out the profitable plan of providing the Far East with cheap Indian opium, for which the Chinese market was quite inexhaustible. Importing opium at Canton was banned, but by providing local mandarins with lavish 'presents', it was possible to smuggle the drug past the officials whose job was to exclude it. Their salaries were small, the profits of the trade vast. In effect, British merchants soon found that they could sell as much opium in China as they could carry there.

The effects on the Chinese population were disastrous. Early missionaries record that even the crews of coasting junks took it in relays to go into a drugged stupor. Apart

from the cost of the trade, it was clearly ruining the health of the people. In 1839 the Tao-kuang emperor decided to appoint a high commissioner to deal with the situation at Canton. The man he chose was a capable official, Lin Tse-hsü, the viceroy of Hunan. Much to the surprise of British merchants, he forced them to hand over all the opium in their possession, and afterwards had a million *chin* (about 4,000,000 lbs) of it destroyed in lime pits dug on the banks of the Pearl River.

This energetic action soon brought war. Commissioner Lin continued to blockade Canton forcibly against the opium smugglers, and in the summer of 1840 a strong British naval force, some of it steam-powered, appeared off Canton. After sealing up the port, it took the nearby city of Tinghai, thus reducing the imperial defences to confusion. Officials had expected nothing less than the enormous strength of the Royal Navy. After some negotiation, they went on to bombard Canton.

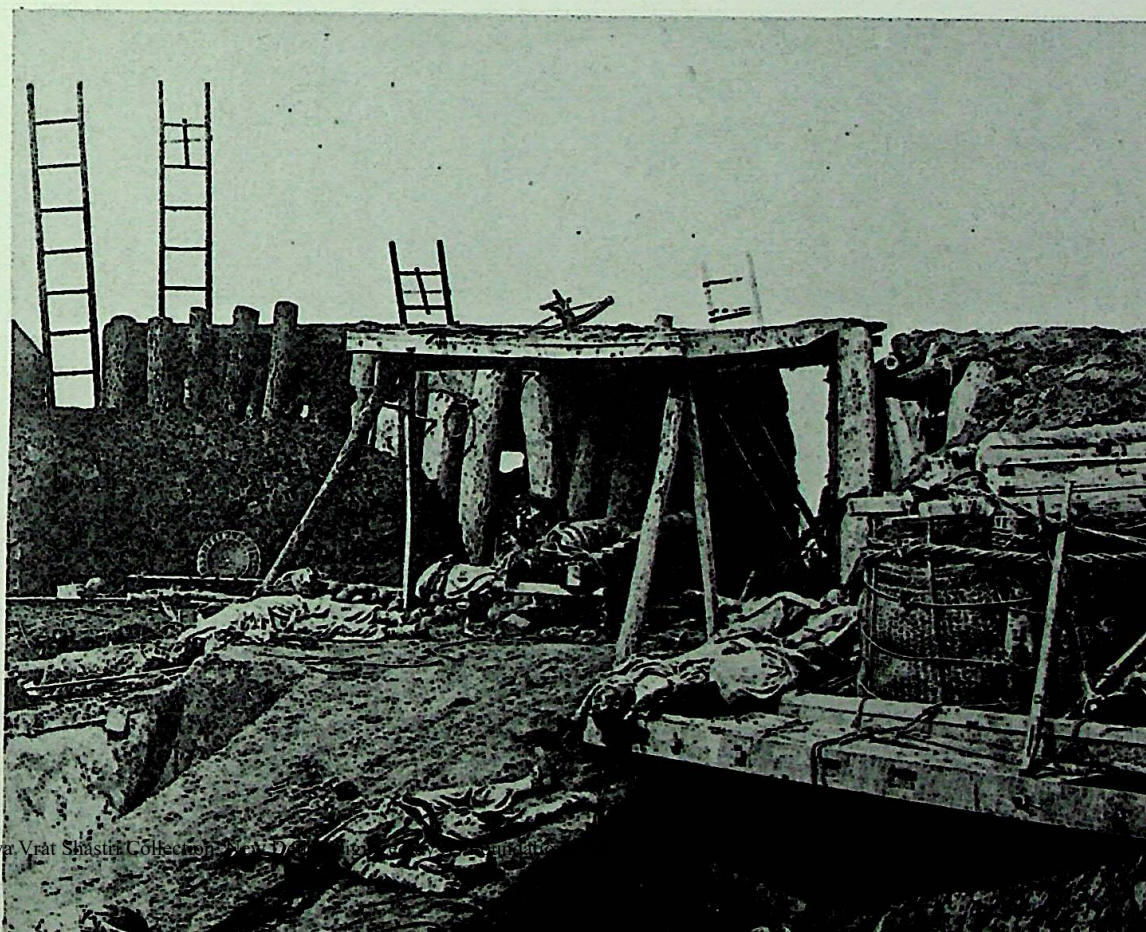
The emperor had little to set against the



Above: a European print of Lord Amherst's 1817 mission to China shows the gulf between East and West. The background depicts a European's-eye view of Chinese buildings, and the British are shown dressed for the Chinese climate.

Left and far left: Chinese sketches show opium addicts smoking, and merchants weighing what would now be several thousand pounds' worth of the drug. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Below: the Taku Forts in North China fell to British and French troops in the summer of 1860. This photograph was taken immediately after the capture of the North Fort. The Chinese suffered from inferior weapons in their struggles against the European invader. Note the antiquated crossbow and guns.



Defeated and humiliated by the European powers throughout the nineteenth century, the Chinese were reduced to making money out of foreigners as best they could. Right: a Chinese gambling house depicted by a European artist in 1873.

greatest sea power in the world. Although resistance went on until 1842, the outcome was never in doubt, except in the minds of Chinese officials. Lin's mistake would have been even more disastrous if it had not been for China's enormous size. Although the prohibition of opium in Britain itself did not prevent Queen Victoria's government from protecting those who smuggled it into China, the cost of genuine conquest and annexation would have been prohibitive. After British troops advanced up the Yangtse River to Nanking, the Tao-kuang emperor sued for peace, and the Opium War ended with the Treaty of Nanking of 1842.

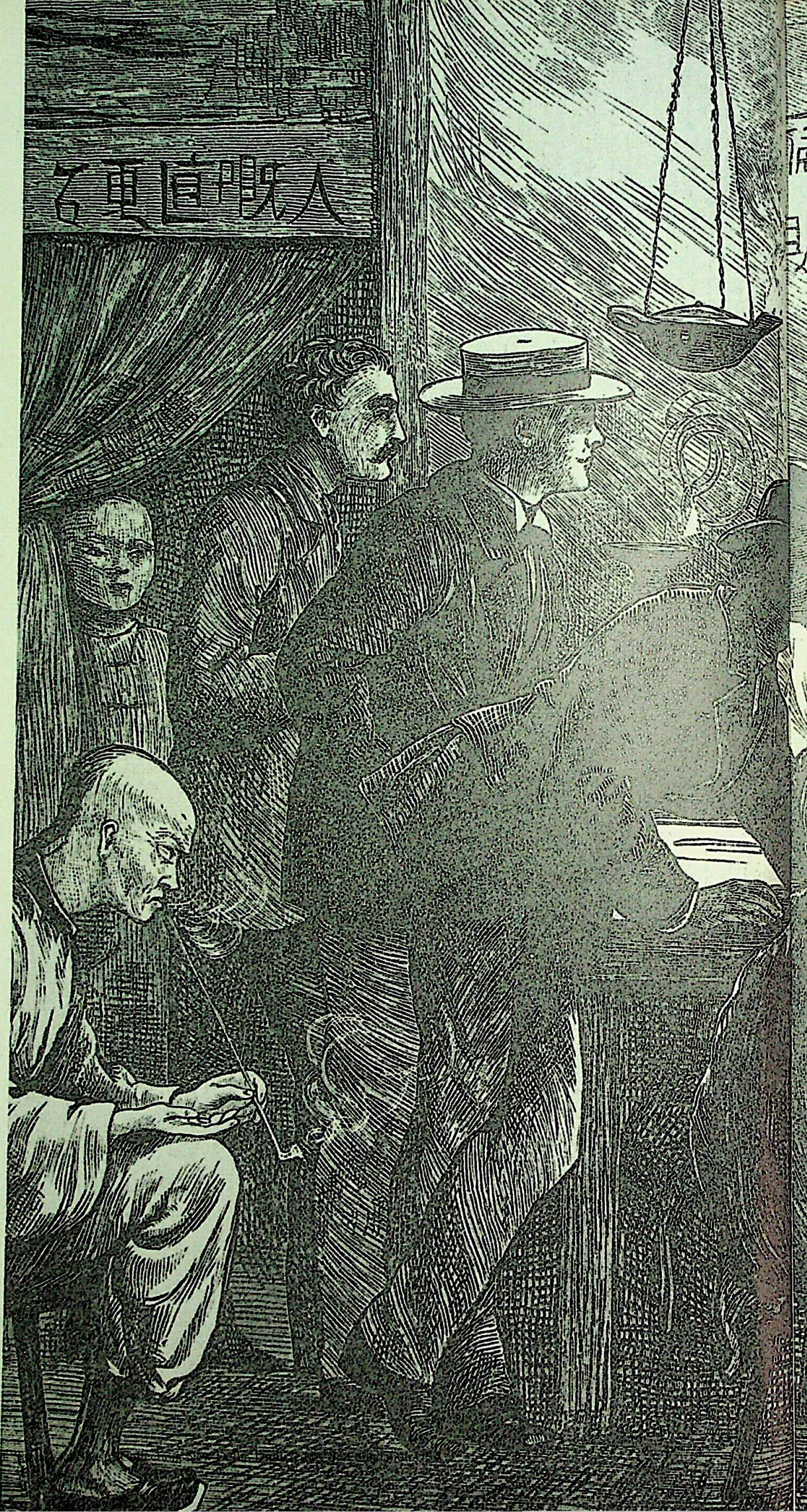
This was the first of the 'unequal treaties' between China and the West, and it gave British merchants all the concessions they wanted. This was not purely protection for their sordid opium smuggling, but genuine trading equality, without the humiliating assumption of Chinese superiority. The Co-Hong was abolished, and British merchants given free trade rights in five ports, the most important of which were Shanghai and Canton. Hong-kong was ceded to Britain, and an indemnity of £5,000,000 paid in addition. The kow-tow, with its implication of paying tribute to the empire, was no longer to be demanded.

Similar treaty rights were granted to the Americans and French immediately afterwards. The Opium War made it clear that the Chinese could no longer hope to stave off the power of the West. It may even be seen as the most important turning point in 2,000 years of Chinese history.

The Taiping revolt

Few Chinese realised the significance of what had happened, and modern Chinese historians call the time which followed 'the twenty precious years when China stood still'. But Manchu power had declined drastically. In their difficulties the many enemies of this foreign dynasty banded together against them. The most formidable threat they had to face was that of the Taiping, which has been seen as the first modern nationalist movement in China. It also had many of the characteristics of a traditional peasant revolt. In either case, it kept the imperial troops at bay for thirteen long and bloody years, from 1851 to 1864.

The prophet of the Taiping was Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, a Cantonese student who had failed to pass civil service examinations. Embittered by his failure and neurotically







ambitious, he was nevertheless an inspiring leader with an ability to put forward an appealing and coherent programme of reform. A smattering of mission Christianity appears to have been enough to convince this highly unstable character that he had been divinely chosen as the redeemer of China.

When he began to agitate among the discontented Hakka or immigrant population in southern China, his claim, probably sincere, was that he was the younger brother of Christ. Yet he was much more than a simple revivalist. His message included demands for a series of radical social reforms, including improvement in the inferior status of women and equal distribution of land and all other property—which naturally appealed to a peasant population frequently on the verge of starvation. There was also to be a return to simplicity in religion, with opium, alcohol, tobacco, and prostitution forbidden. Even the long pigtail

worn in Manchu China was to be replaced by short hair-styles.

In 1851 Hung was proclaimed leader of the *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo*, or 'Heavenly Kingdom of Absolute Peace'. He had launched the greatest peasant revolt in modern history, which aimed incidentally at removing the European influence which the decadent Manchu had encouraged. The Taiping took Nanking in 1853, while Shanghai fell to other rebellious sects. The Manchu were powerless.

Only the Westerners could save the dynasty. By 1862 the imperial troops had been well trained by advisers like 'Chinese' Gordon, and joined with European mercenaries in the 'Ever-Victorious Army' which hurled back the Taiping offensive. In 1864 the revolt collapsed, and Hung died by his own hand. His disunited followers simply broke up into bandit gangs.

This does not disguise his achievement in showing the way in which China was



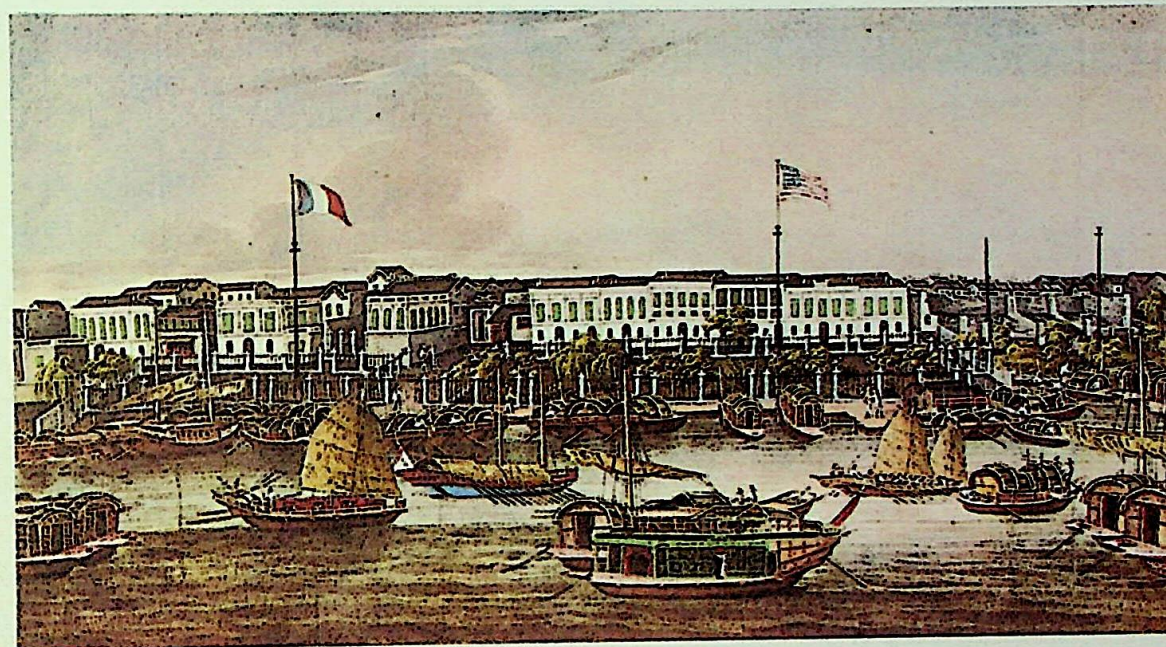


The 'Arrow' War, in which the British and French bombarded and took Canton, confirmed the verdict of the Opium War. Left: French artillery and marines attack a position outside the city.

Below left: Western troops led by Admiral de Genouilly fight their way through the streets.

Below: Canton's French and American compounds in the era of concessions.

(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



eventually to defeat the West. Where Hung had whipped up mass nationalist enthusiasm, with a bastardised form of Western religion, future leaders would copy Western industry and education and, finally, Western armaments. The lessons of the ill-fated Taiping were well learned by the Chinese revolutionaries of the present century, particularly Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang.

The 'Arrow' War

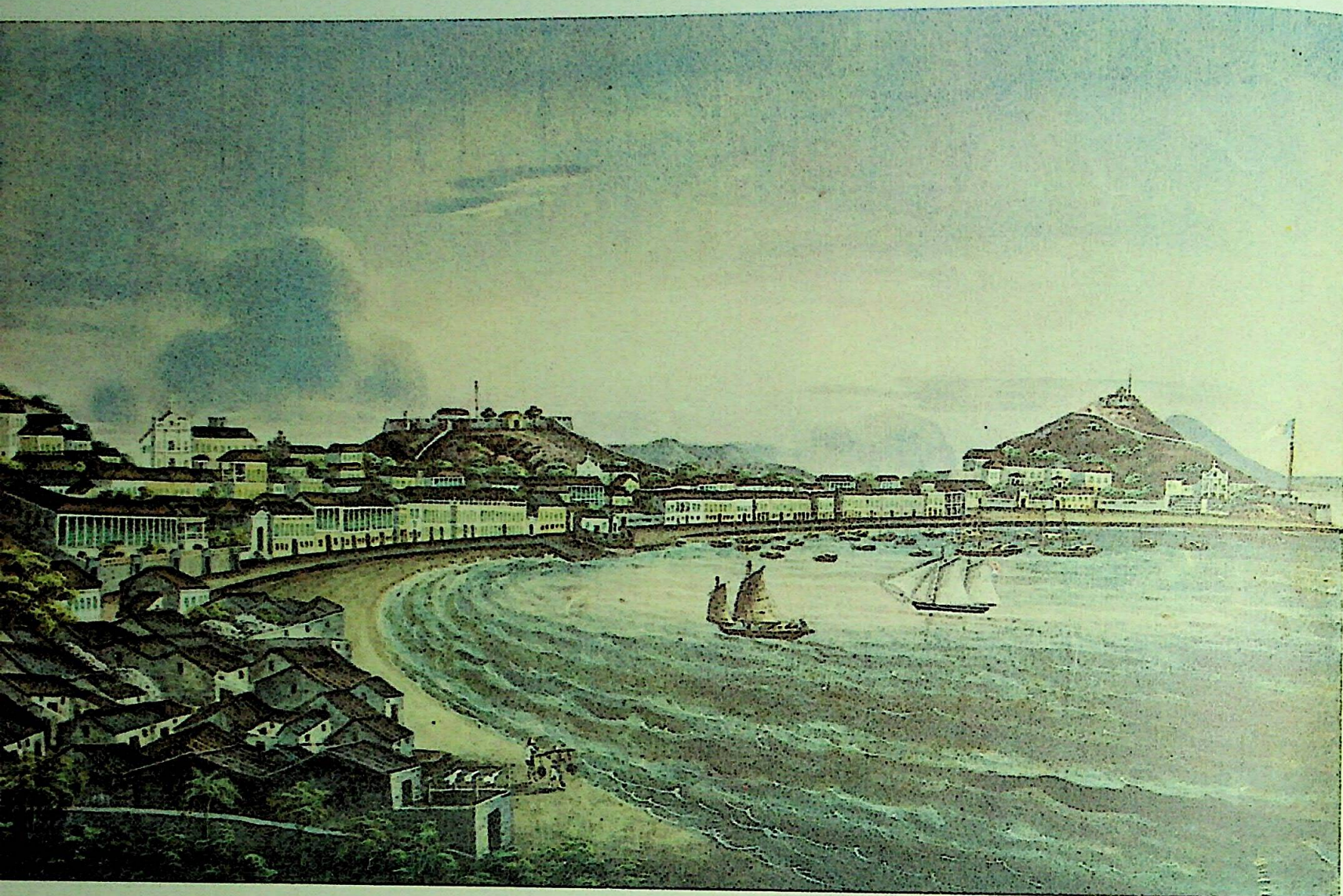
While the Taiping revolt dragged on, Western merchants were still engaged in the humdrum work of increasing their profits. Unfortunately they had still found no answer to the main problem: that the Chinese did not wish to buy anything manufactured in the West. Convinced of the quality of their wares, the merchants put this down to the ill will of the Chinese leaders and the backwardness of their people. Their solution was to push further

and further inland and to put pressure on the central government in Peking itself. These were the aims of the 'Arrow War', named after a British-owned junk which was very properly impounded by Chinese officials after sheltering a local pirate.

This insult to the flag, in 1856, produced swift action. The British and French took Canton in the following year, and Chinese resistance collapsed much faster than in the Opium War.

At the Peace of Tientsin in 1858, Britain and France were given sweeping new privileges. Eleven new ports were opened, and free navigation on the Yangtse granted. The commercial heartland of China now lay exposed. Foreign merchants were also given rights of special jurisdiction, which protected them from Chinese civil and even criminal law.

The wretched position of the Manchus soon became even worse. After new brushes, Lord Elgin, son of the scholarly donor of



After the Treaty of Tientsin, Chinese tardiness in fully opening the concessions produced a new British and French punitive campaign.

Above: Macao, an ancient point of contact with the West, was joined by many other treaty ports in the era of concessions.

Above right: a French bayonet charge in the attack on Fort Lyn.

Below right: allied infantry take the defences of the Pei-ho estuary, in 1860. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

the British Museum's Elgin Marbles, advanced on Peking, and sacked the beautiful Manchu Winter Palace. The subsequent Treaty of Peking gave the Westerners legations in the Chinese capital, which had always been refused in the past. Now they could deal directly with the imperial government, in order to extort whatever privileges they wished. China had surrendered to the West.

The era of concessions

The European nations could now trade in China on their own terms. The old Manchu hope that the distasteful outer barbarians could be isolated in a few ports was finally dispelled. Much of coastal China had effec-

tively become a European colony, and her major cities were open to any foreigner who wished to visit them. Western *hong* or trade compounds multiplied, even hundreds of miles inland. The Chinese themselves were treated with contempt, as a subject race which had been conquered in open warfare. Some parts of the European compounds even carried notices reading 'No dogs or Chinamen'.

The Chinese themselves adopted the bad habits of the West and distrusted its good ones. European diseases became rampant outside the borders of the concessions. It probably made little difference to the Chinese peasant whether he was oppressed by a Manchu or a European—both were foreigners. But the humiliated gentry and

scholarly classes naturally distrusted a civilisation which seemed to be superior in nothing but its weapons. Europeans seemed crude, vulgar, and incomprehensible.

Indeed the Western population of the Treaty Ports constantly ran the risk of 'incidents' with the hostile Chinese population. Perhaps the worst was the massacre of the French Catholic missionaries at Tientsin in 1870. In this case the fathers were somewhat tactlessly gaining converts by buying infants who would normally have been exposed as a way of getting rid of unwanted mouths in overloaded families.

When rumours got round that the priests were killing and even eating them, the result was the destruction of all mission property by a hostile mob, which also murdered all

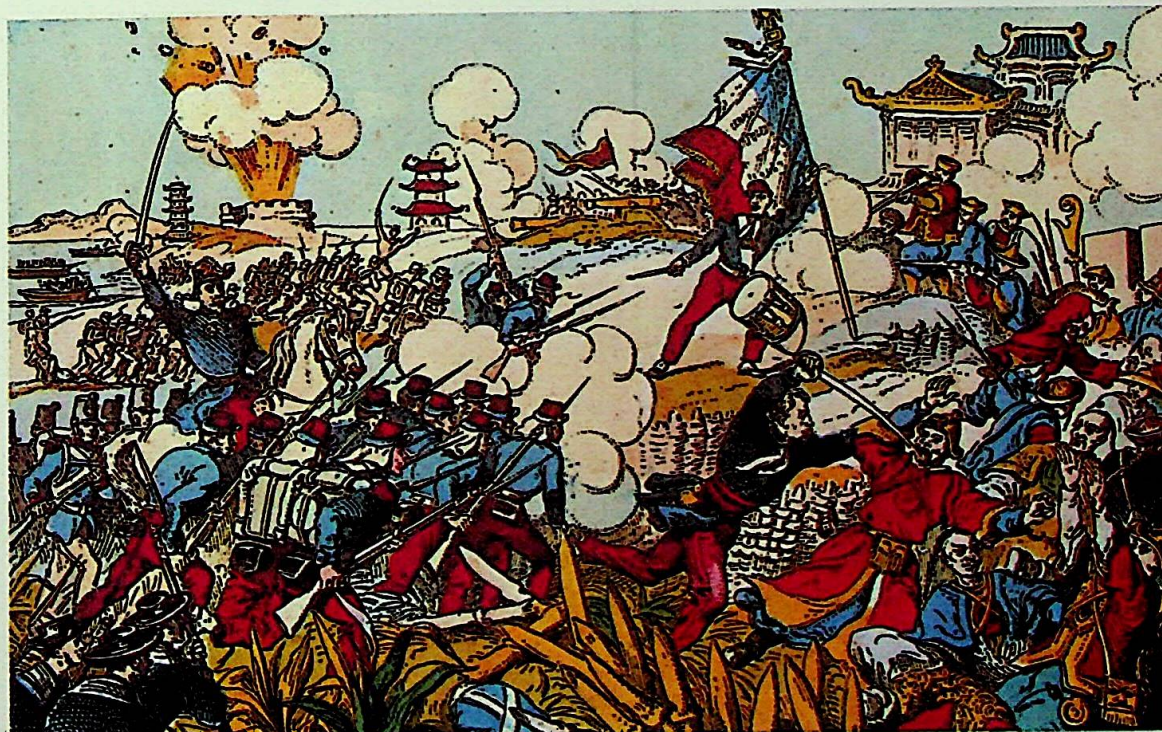


the Frenchmen who fell into its hands. The Chinese authorities gave ample satisfaction, but nothing could improve the misunderstanding and bitterness between the races. Such incidents were many during the long era of concessions. They looked forward to the nationalist revolutions which produced the independent China of our own century.

Japan

Japan, like China, tried desperately to remain in isolation to the last. But in the era of the gunboats, even an island could not save its civilisation from the forces of modernisation. Until then, however, Japan, like China, continued to live in the past.

Although Japan is usually called an

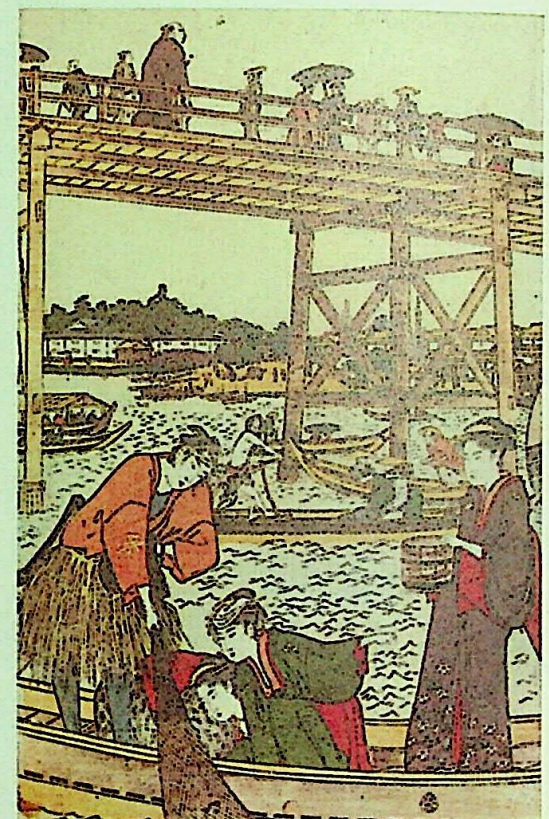




4. JAPANESE LADY ARRAYED IN FRENCH COSTUME.

empire, its emperor was no more than a figurehead by the nineteenth century. The ancient imperial court still survived in Kyoto, but the country was in effect ruled by an hereditary chamberlain or *shogun*. In the late years of the shogunate, at least one emperor was reduced to boosting his income by selling samples of his calligraphy to tourists outside the palace. The shogunate, under the Tokugawa family, controlled Japan from its own court at Yeddo (modern Tokyo).

Japan's system of authority, even in the nineteenth century, was very similar to that of feudal Europe. Since the seventeenth century, however, the shogun had ensured the loyalty of his *daimyo*, or principal feudal lords, by requiring them to spend six months of each year at court in Yeddo. Under this system of *sankin-kotai* or 'alternating attendance', the daimyo were also forced to leave immediate relatives in Yeddo during the part of the year when they were permitted to live on their estates. With such



After 1868 Japan became increasingly influenced by the Western way of life. Above left: an English newspaper of 1879 illustrates a Japanese lady in Western dress. Top: a print by Hokusai shows Japanese ladies writing. Above: a freshwater fishing scene, by Utamaro.

Japan changed little from the Middle Ages until the 'Meiji Restoration' of 1868. Its art was always supremely realistic. Right: a samurai in traditional hunting dress, painted on silk by Koryusai. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



hostages in the shogun's hands, disobedience became rare. However, the daimyo in turn had absolute control over their own retinue of *samurai* warriors, equivalent to European knights.

Although the samurai enjoyed the prestige of a military caste and were entrusted with most of Japan's minor administrative tasks, they were impoverished and had little chance of rising into the classes above them. Like many of the daimyo, they were heavily in debt to a rising class of town money-lenders and merchants for whom there had been no place in traditional Japanese society. The new middle class, in spite of its prosperity, had no place in the feudal structure, and thus had even less prestige than the

miserably poor peasantry. In spite of crushing taxation, the peasants were at least recognised as the real basis of a healthy society.

All these classes had their grievances. Ironically, the good fortune of the emperors of Japan was that the shogunate, which had oppressed them for so long, could be blamed for all of them. The daimyo hated the firm hand of the shogun. The samurai in turn hated the daimyo, but also assumed that their plight was primarily the shogun's fault. The merchants blamed the shogun for the shortcomings of a society which denied them a rank equal to their wealth. Even the peasants assumed vaguely that the taxes of the daimyo, the samurai, and the shogun,

were the fault of the shogun. The shogunate became the perfect scapegoat for the stresses created in Japan by the impact of European penetration. Yet no one had any grievance against the emperor, who had lacked the power to do any harm for six centuries.

The only hope of preserving this precarious structure was to prevent any kind of change, by shielding the public from all outside influences. This was all the more attractive since the Japanese were as convinced of their supremacy over other races as the Chinese. Even the missions begun by the great St Francis Xavier, apostle of the Indies, were never allowed to flourish, although they had never had much hope of making converts. The tiny groups of Portu-



Below left: a photograph of American and Japanese businessmen taken only thirty years after the Americans had 'discovered' Japan in 1853.

Below: a group of poorly clad people. Although many Japanese men were quick to adopt Western styles of dress, they preferred their womenfolk to wear traditional costume.

guese and Dutch traders who visited Japan had been carefully confined to the port of Nagasaki.

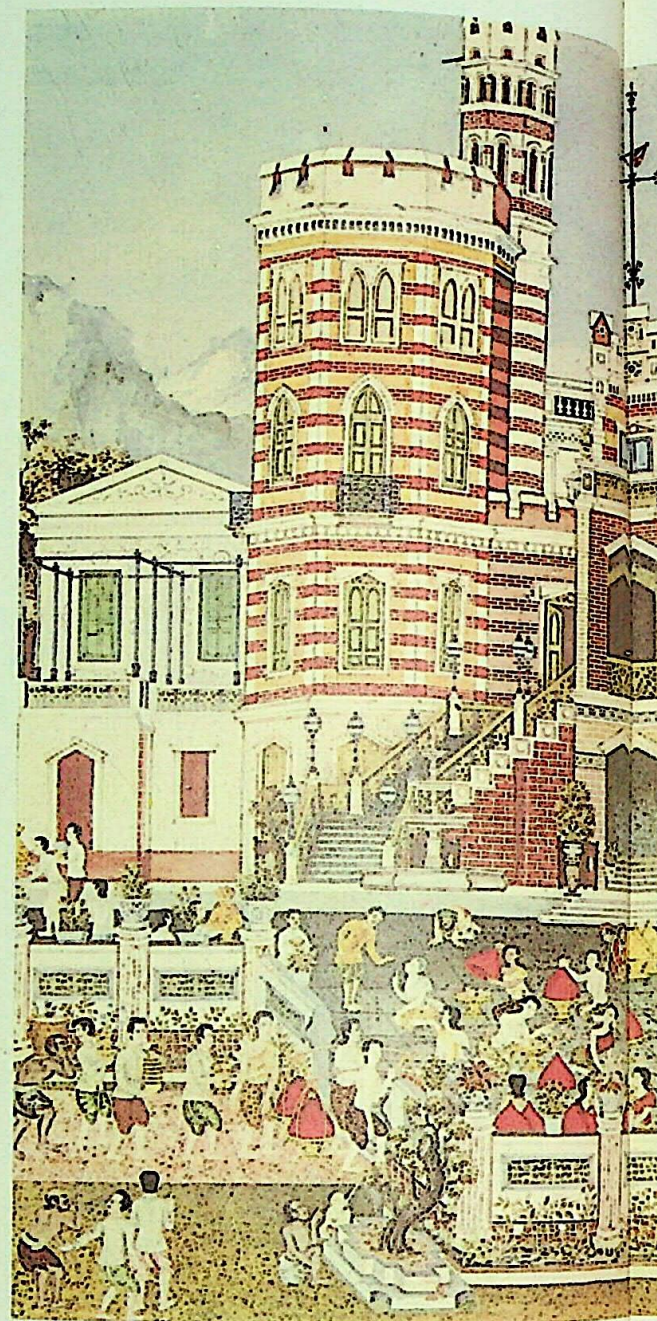
The Americans

However, the interest of the Dutch merchants, very sensibly, was in their own profits, and it was not they who first demonstrated the power of the West to Japan. In 1846 the state of California seceded from Mexico, and two years later it was annexed by the United States. Its population rose rapidly after the gold rush of 1849, and San Francisco and Los Angeles quickly became deepwater ports of major importance. Weak though its navy was, America's future

in the Pacific was now guaranteed. In 1853 Commodore Perry's four ships appeared off Yeddo armed with a letter of friendship from President Fillmore, which included the alarming news that a larger American squadron would visit Japan next year. At the same time the Russian admiral, Putyatin, arrived in Japanese waters to put pressure on the shogunate.

The Crimean War prevented the development of further Russian interest, but the Americans duly returned. The evils of refusing to meet their demands might have been even worse than those which resulted from doing so. The shogunate signed its own death warrant by opening two ports to the Americans and granting them permanent





diplomatic representation. Britain, Russia, and France quickly extorted similar privileges. These concessions certainly saved Japan from a new version of the Opium War. But its dangerously unstable feudal system was now exposed to the violent impact of Western ideas.

The decline of the shogunate

The first Japanese institution to suffer was the shogunate itself. The Japanese were naturally unimpressed with Shogun Tokugawa Iesada's achievement in saving them from a war with the West. Long shielded from knowledge of its real power, they saw the capitulation to Perry as a sickening and unnecessary humiliation. As opposition to the shogunate increased, and the grievances against it were expressed in terms of patriotism, the emperor could only gain. It was not he who had agreed to impertinent barbarian demands. When the daimyo managed to have their residence require-

ment at Yeddo lifted, they flocked to the long-neglected imperial court at Kyoto. Its prestige rose proportionately when the emperor refused to give his usual automatic assent to the treaties with America.

The Meiji restoration

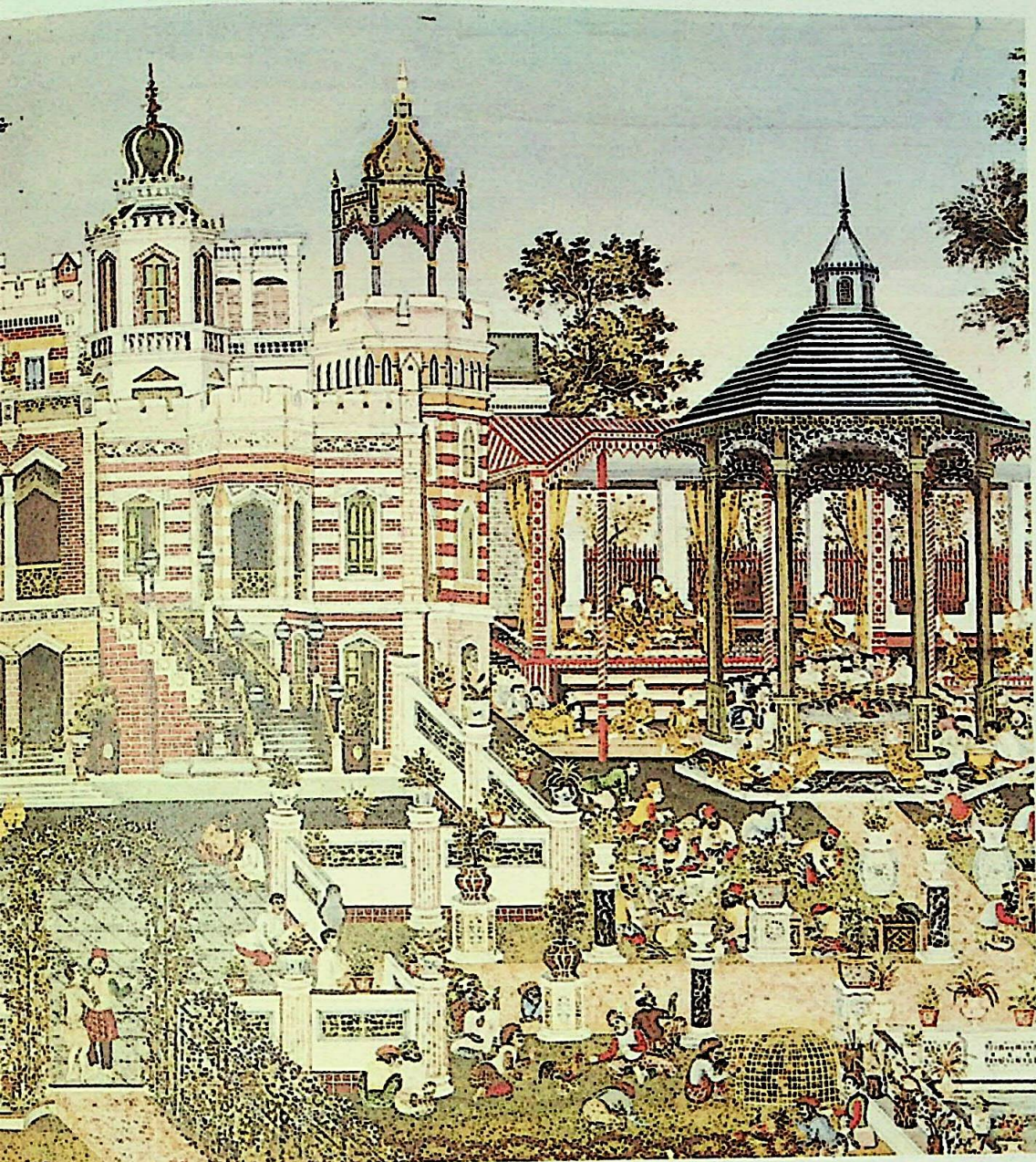
Japanese opinion changed as the power of the Westerners became more and more evident. At Kyoto there gradually grew up a party led by Crown Prince Hito, whose view was that the only way to compete with the West was by becoming westernised. It was because of her failure to do so that China had lost the Opium War. The solution was the complete reconstruction of Japanese society.

The old feudal system had been an admirable basis for agrarian life, but it gave the country no chance of industrialisation, which the reformers knew had given the Western nations their great strength. They saw that this required mobility of labour

and capital, and general receptiveness to change. Feudalism was as far removed from these as chalk from cheese. Only a complete revolution could change the old system sufficiently for Japan to accomplish overnight what Europe had done in four centuries. What was quite clear was that the shogunate could direct such rapid change only by smashing the ancient structure on which its power rested—in short, by committing political suicide.

So the hopes of Japan came to rest on the emperor. The new loyalty to him was a modern one. He was seen as the only leader who could save the country from its own hidebound traditions. Above all, it was enhanced by the blunders of the unfortunate shogun, whom the imperial party very wisely left to discredit himself by making more concessions to the insatiable foreigners, and clumsily failing to defeat them in battle.

It was only in 1868 that the young emperor, Meiji, seized power from the last shogun, Hitotsubashi Keiki. The Meiji era,



Traditional warfare continued in Burma until the 1880s.

Far left above: elephants advance to demolish a bamboo stockade. (Musée Guimet, Paris.)

Far left below: hit and run raiding.

Left: sports in a Siamese palace. Note the two cockfights in progress. (Musée Cernuschi, Paris.)

Japan's Victorian age, had begun. The imperial capital was moved from Kyoto to Yeddo, now renamed Tokyo. The work ahead was to destroy the feudal system and modernise Japan by imitating the crude but powerful Western nations. By the end of the century this had been achieved, and Japan was a major military and naval power in the Pacific. In 1904 she announced the success of the empire's modernising policy by overpowering Russia's Far Eastern forces in the short Russo-Japanese War.

Asia's lesser lands

Meanwhile the Westerners themselves were systematically annexing the smaller kingdoms which controlled the approaches to the China Sea. Both France and Britain were intent on seizing as many possessions as possible without actually dismantling China itself. The British had the advantage of a base in their huge Indian Empire, and at the same time were driven by fears that

any other power might gain land with strategic control over the approaches to the Indian Ocean.

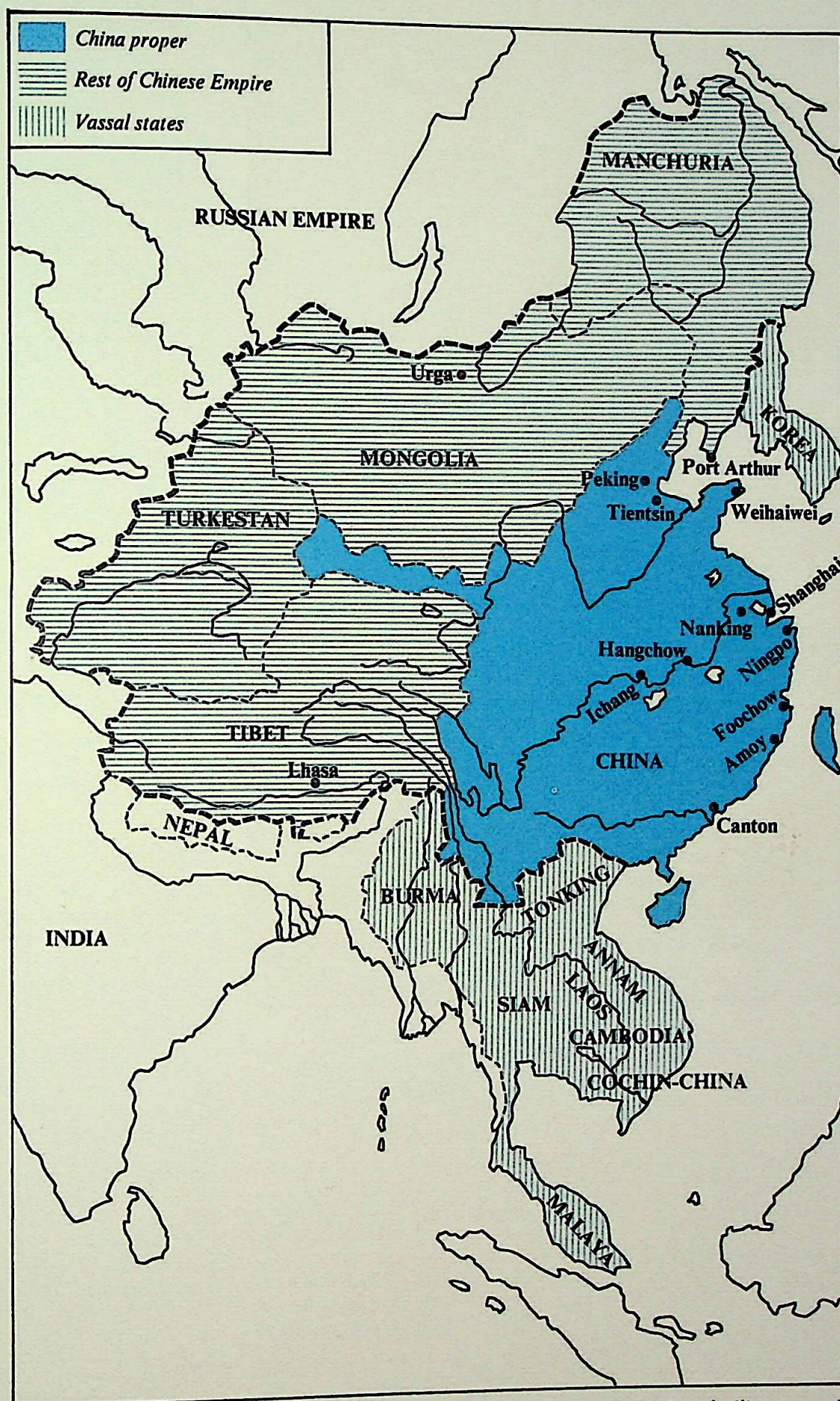
As early as 1819, the colourful adventurer Stamford Raffles occupied Singapore. The British were now entrenched where they could control all traffic to and from the Far East. Next they turned their attention to Burma, a country torn by internal conflicts. Anxious as always for their Indian interests, and bent on securing the approaches to China, they took advantage of frontier incidents to intervene. Rangoon was occupied in 1824 and by 1852 the whole of southern Burma was under British control. Fifteen years later they gained territory further up the Irrawaddy, and by 1885 the whole of northern Burma had been annexed. Across the frontier from them was Yunnan province—in China.

Apart from constant border troubles with Burmese rulers, the British advance had been speeded up by fears of French activities in South-East Asia. When France joined in

the race for China and Chinese markets, she at once began to consolidate her power in Indo-China. French missionaries and traders had always been prominent in Siam and Vietnam and, indeed, they had made every effort to get government assistance from Paris to advance their claims. Whether their interest was in Bibles or cash-books, they agreed that they would have greater scope with the help of French gunboats.

However, for many years South-East Asia was too far away for French governments with plenty of problems at home to wish to become involved there. Only the empire of Napoleon III, proclaimed in 1852, set enough store by French prestige overseas to consider a forward policy worthwhile. Vietnamese distrust of Christians continually led to incidents involving French missionaries, one of which provided the pretext for an attack on Hanoi. Annam (North Vietnam) was forced to cede what became Cochin-China, the first French colony in South-East Asia.

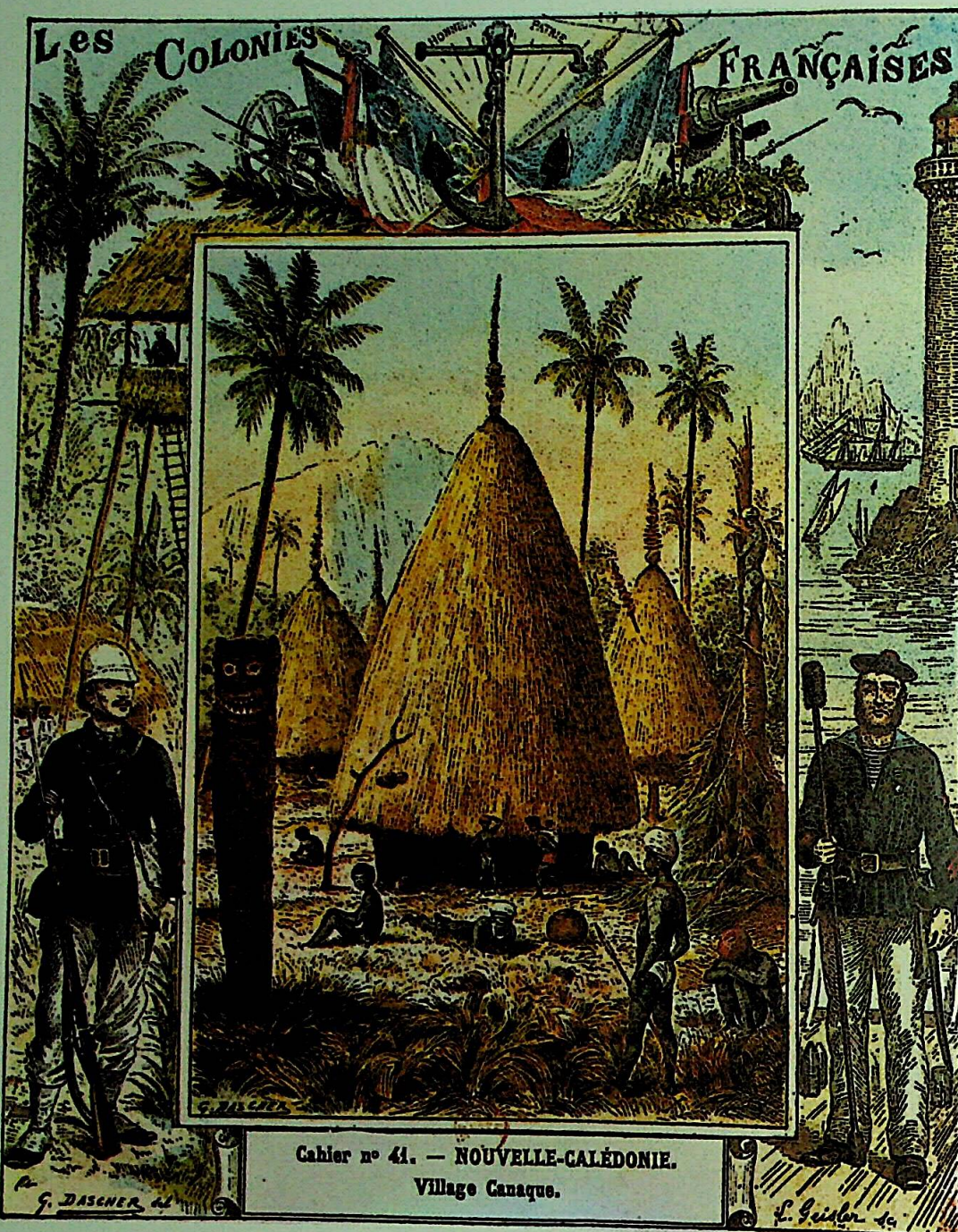




Left: Geisha girls are skilled in the arts of singing, dancing and repartee. Many are also courtesans. This group was photographed in the port of Yokohama towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Above: the Far East in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1834 the Chinese port of Canton was opened to limited overseas trade. But the European powers, particularly Britain, were dissatisfied with these trading arrangements and through a

series of military expeditions gradually gained commercial control of eastern China. Japan wisely adopted Western civilisation instead of trying to combat it, becoming increasingly prosperous as a result.



The South Seas

Europe's stranglehold on the Far East became complete with the occupation of the islands of the South Pacific. Because they lacked the obvious wealth of China and Japan, missionaries were more important in exploring or even annexing them than merchants or soldiers. This is not to say that conflicts with the Polynesians, or between rival groups of missionaries, did not produce incidents which might involve governments at home.

After Captain Cook's exploring voyages, the great British missionary societies, especially the London Missionary Society and the Anglican Church Missionary Society, sent mission after mission to the South Seas. Their impulse was almost wholly religious, although some businessmen hoped that they could sell endless bales of Manchester cotton to the islanders once the missionaries had convinced them that nakedness was sinful. Working from the British settlement in Australia, missionaries soon founded posts in Tahiti, Fiji, the Marquesas, and the New Hebrides. American missions became active in Hawaii.

However, Catholic missionaries soon appeared on the scene too. After the voyages of Dumont d'Urville in 1826 and 1827, the French government gave its support to missions in Tahiti, Samoa, the Marquesas, and New Caledonia. The Protestant and Catholic missionaries soon quarrelled. In Tahiti, their spectacular squabbles produced a full-scale international incident between the British and French in 1844. Although the French responded well to Palmerston's fury at their activities, they retained the Society Islands, and Napoleon III was also able to annex New Caledonia in 1853. It became a colony for French convicts, similar to the British penal colony in Australia, or the Siberian settlement in Tsarist Russia.

The atmosphere of the Pacific islands in the early years of settlement—their beauty, calm, and richness—is nowhere better described than in Herman Melville's *Typee*, or in Joseph Conrad's much later *Victory*. Both novelists had roamed through the South Seas. Melville had nothing good to say of the missionaries, and indeed the islands were changing by the time he wrote. Like everywhere else, they had business possibilities. For instance, Hawaii, although independent until 1898, was under the control of American businessmen by the eighteen-fifties. The impact of the Europeans on the simple islanders was disastrous.

By mid-century, the power of the West stretched throughout Asia and the Pacific. Europe itself was also changing rapidly during this period. Industrialisation brought rapid social change, which in turn affected political life. While the old European nations were opening the Far East, new ones were emerging at home.

Cochin-China, similar in extent to modern South Vietnam, included the Mekong Delta, which the French believed would provide a waterway into China, thus short-circuiting the traditional trade-routes to the treaty ports of the empire. If they could gain control over the whole course of the Mekong, the profits to be made at the expense of other European powers would be fabulous. This became the main aim of French policy in South-East Asia in the eighteen-sixties.

In 1863 Cambodia became a French protectorate. Much to the disgust of the French government, however, the great explorer François Garnier then returned from an expedition up the Mekong to announce that the river did not in fact go anywhere near the prosperous parts of China. It now seemed that the road to the Chinese market was by way of the Red River, which runs into the Gulf of Tonkin, in modern North Vietnam.

One of a series of prints on the French colonies shows a village in New Caledonia, annexed by Napoleon III in 1853. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

After they had recovered from the disaster of the Franco-Prussian War, the French began the search for an inland route into China all over again. By 1885 Tonkin, Annam, and Laos had joined Cambodia and Cochin-China as French dependencies. In 1887 all were reorganised as French Indo-China.

The only South-East Asian state to survive was Siam (or Thailand), which profited from the mutual distrust of the French and British. Wedged between Burma and Indo-China, it became a sort of buffer state or no man's land, where neither of its great Western neighbours could annex land without risking a major conflict.



Cavour and Bismarck

The nationalist movement for the unification of Italy grows; Cavour's brilliant diplomacy secures the alliance of France against the Austrians; Garibaldi's campaign heralds a new era of Italian independence; the 'iron chancellor's' diplomatic genius results in Prussian subjugation of Denmark and Austria; Prussia becomes the core of a new German Empire after her victory over the French.

While the Westerners were pressing into the Far East, the European balance of power was changing. In 1871, after its crushing victory in the Franco-Prussian War, a triumphant and united Germany declared the Second Reich. The year before the Italians had occupied Rome and completed the formation of modern Italy. Two countries which had been disunited since the Middle Ages now took their places as great powers. They had achieved this under the leadership of two great men, Cavour and Bismarck, at the expense of Habsburg Austria.

Both nationalist movements were supported by businessmen, who sought wider markets for the products of the rising industrial system. The flourishing new bourgeoisie were also champions of liberal institutions, which gave them the voice in government needed for their commercial

interests. Yet unification came about very differently in Italy and Germany. In one country liberals and democrats allied behind the monarchy of Savoy. In the other the Prussian army united the nation by smashing the power of France. In Italy the new constitution was essentially democratic. In Germany liberalism made little headway against the ruling militarist caste.

Italian unification

In many ways, however, the movements for Italian and German unification were very similar. They went on side by side from 1850 to 1870. Neither resembled in any way the popular uprisings of 1848. What happened was that one of the states within each country became strong enough to dominate and finally unite all the rest. Both these states, Piedmont in Italy and Prussia in Germany,

were opposed to the Austrians. Both their leaders, Cavour and Bismarck, made masterly use of a new form of 'power politics'.

However, unlike the Germans, the Italians did not gain unity by surrendering to their own army. The Piedmontese army played an important part in fighting the Austrians, but they were greatly helped by popular unrest, guerilla warfare, and the work of amateur generals like Garibaldi. And after the war was over, Garibaldi retired to his farm on Caprera.

Indeed the diffidence of the Garibaldians created marked difficulties. Romantic supporters of unity like his 'Redshirts' did little to organise an Italian state after 1870.

Above: Austrian troops on manoeuvres in Italy. (Army museum, Vienna.)



This was left to the hardheaded statesmen of Piedmont. But at least unification here had a likeable spontaneity which saved it from the domination by the military which was the price of Bismarck's success.

Three blueprints for nationhood

Before 1848 the Italian patriot, Giuseppe Mazzini, had dreamt of a republic ruled from Rome, in which the power of the papacy and the individual princes would be broken and cast aside. The defeats of 1848 showed the weakness of his hopes. Republicanism, as he saw it, not only antagonised the Austrians, but also horrified the Vatican and the rulers of the Italian states.

Mazzini's idealism was too extreme and impractical, and only a minority followed him. The alternative plan of the Abbé Vincenzo Gioberti, for an Italian confederation under the pope, was equally unworkable. Italy, especially northern Italy, was an Austrian sphere of influence. Even under the liberal Pius IX, the papacy could hardly

afford to usurp the power of the Habsburgs, its principal supporters.

As the 1850s opened, both the Mazzinians and Gioberti's 'neo-Guelphs' were discredited. Hopes turned to a third plan of liberation, that of accepting the leadership of the constitutional monarchy of Savoy, or Sardinia-Piedmont, which had already shown itself moderately liberal. Perhaps if Savoy renewed the attack on Austria, it could join with Lombardy and Venetia to form a kingdom of Northern Italy. Beyond this Italian patriots worked out very little. They thought vaguely of organising some form of federation between the north, the Papal States, and Naples in the south. At least this seemed to be a more realistic proposition than Mazzini's republican pipe dreams.

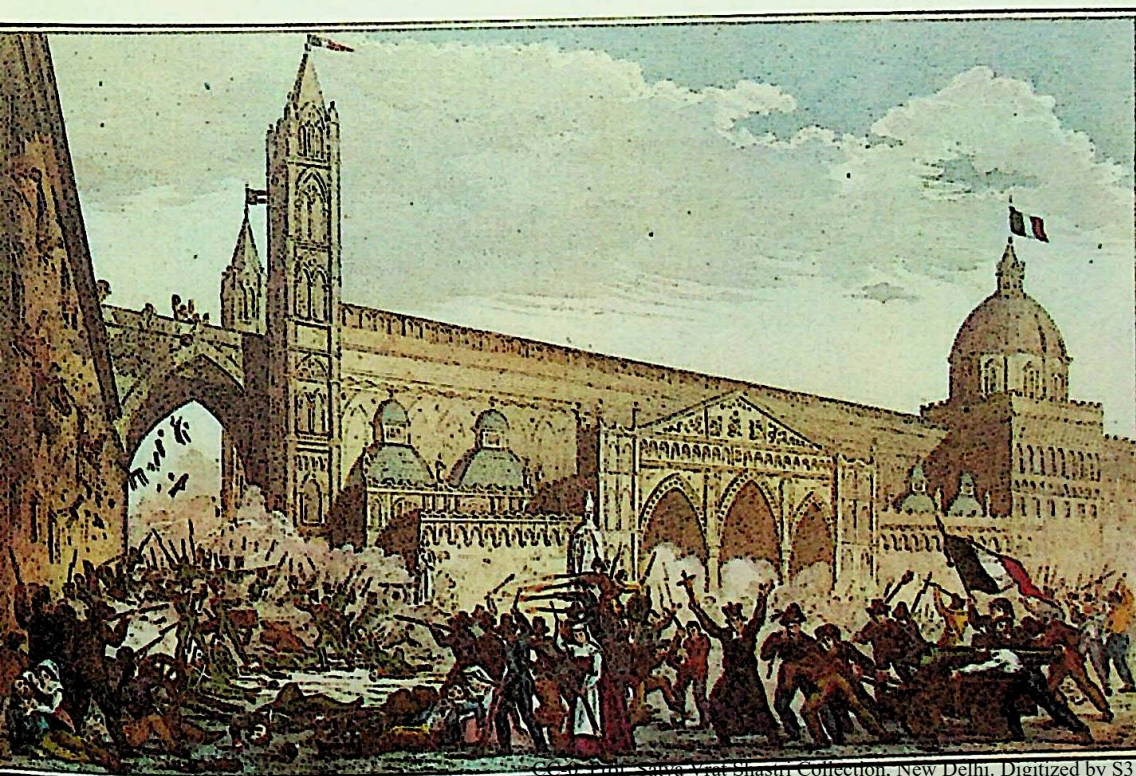
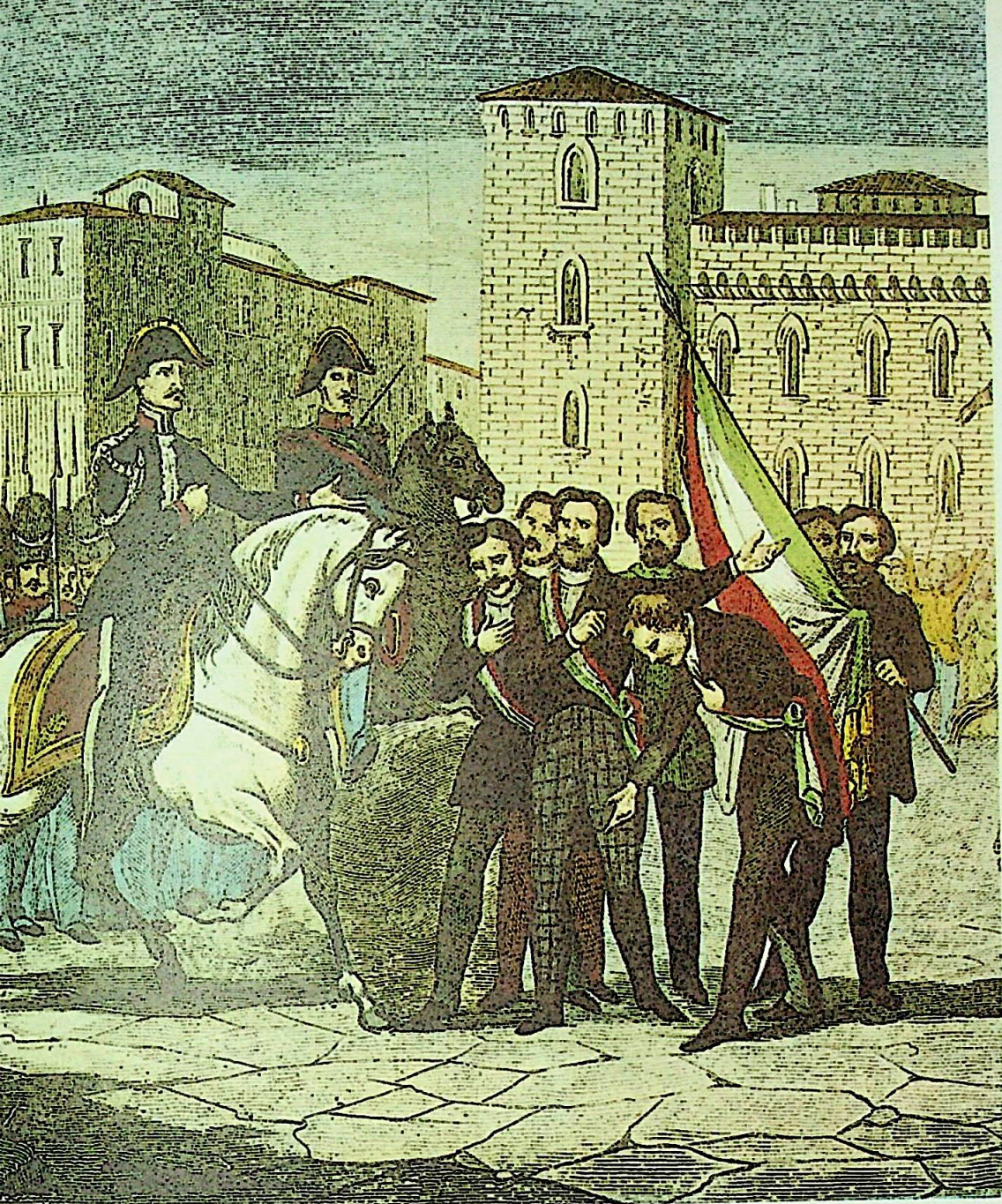
After 1848, Italy, like the rest of Europe, moved into a phase of reaction against liberalism and nationalism. Even the once-idealistic Ferdinand of Naples had become an arbitrary despot. His Kingdom of the Two Sicilies remained the most backward in Europe, its peasants too miserable even



for revolution. When Mazzini's followers arrived in Naples in 1857 to try to organise a revolt against Ferdinand, there was no support for them, and they were easily wiped out by the Bourbon troops.

In Rome, Pius IX had been restored, but now lived in terror of all liberal experiments. The constitution he had granted in 1848 was not restored; he was protected by a French garrison; and power passed increasingly to his diehard conservative secretary of state, Cardinal Antonelli. The rulers of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany had become Austrian puppets.

Like Austria-Hungary itself, Lombardy-Venetia, which was still ruled directly from Vienna, had become a police state. After the 1848 revolt alone Metternich's officials there sent 4,000 rebels to prison and 1,000 to the gallows. In London, Mazzini continued to dream impracticable dreams. The Austrian police crushed his network of Italian revolutionary committees in 1852. Yet he tried to raise the standard of revolt in Milan the very next year. The authorities acted swiftly, and forty republicans died on the gibbet. In



The failure of the 1848 revolutions altered the course of Italian unification.
Left: street scene in Palermo, 1848.
(Private collection.)
Above left: Charles Albert of Piedmont, whose liberalism raised nationalist hopes in his successor.
Above: the idealist Mazzini.
Far left: Pius IX, a liberal in 1848, blesses his troops. (Museo del Risorgimento, Rome and Milan.)

the northern Italian states at least, not even the most optimistic patriots could see any solution but the leadership of Savoy.

Victor Emmanuel and Cavour

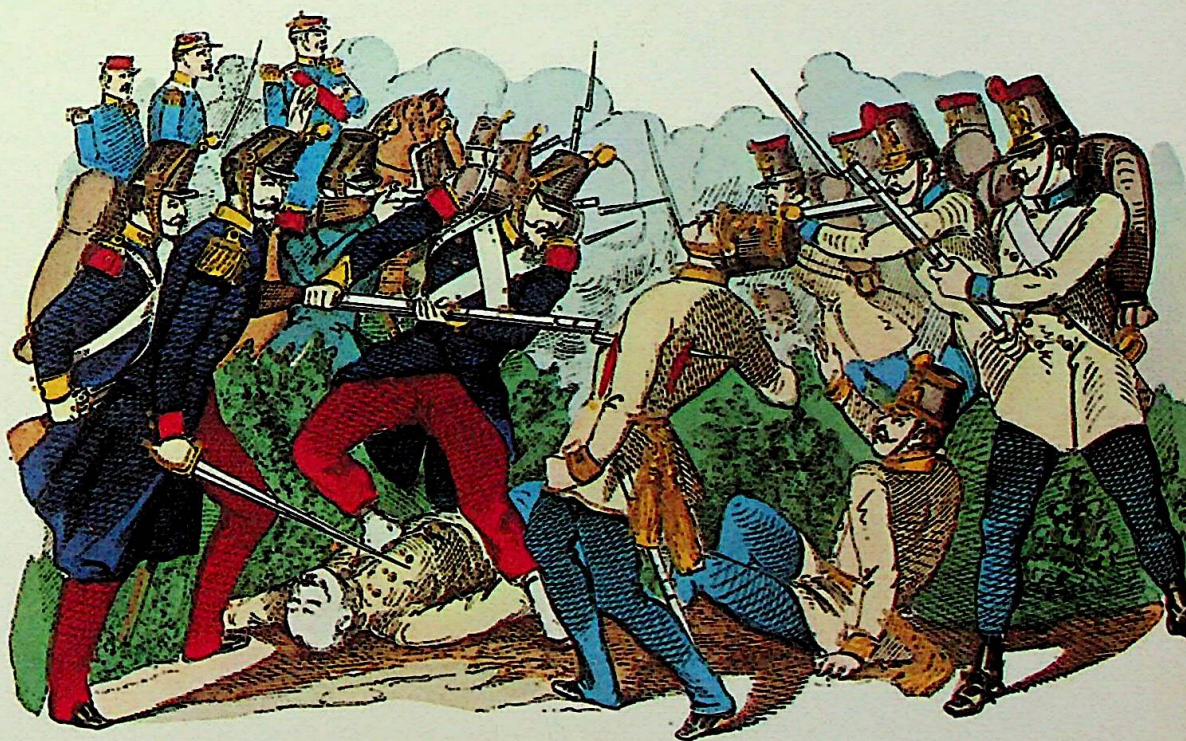
In 1849, after the bloody Austrian victory over the Piedmontese at Novara, Victor Emmanuel II came to the throne of Savoy. The new king was a homely little man, with an incongruous set of bushy black whiskers. He enjoyed great popularity in his capital of Turin, where he was nicknamed *il regalantuomo* ('the cavalier king'). His good public image was probably linked with his enthusiasm for trimming the privileges of the clergy, who were much less revered in the north of Italy than in Naples for example. This in itself produced a long series of quarrels between Victor Emmanuel and Pius IX. The man who was to make him king of Italy, Camillo Benso, Count Cavour, became a member of the cabinet in 1850.

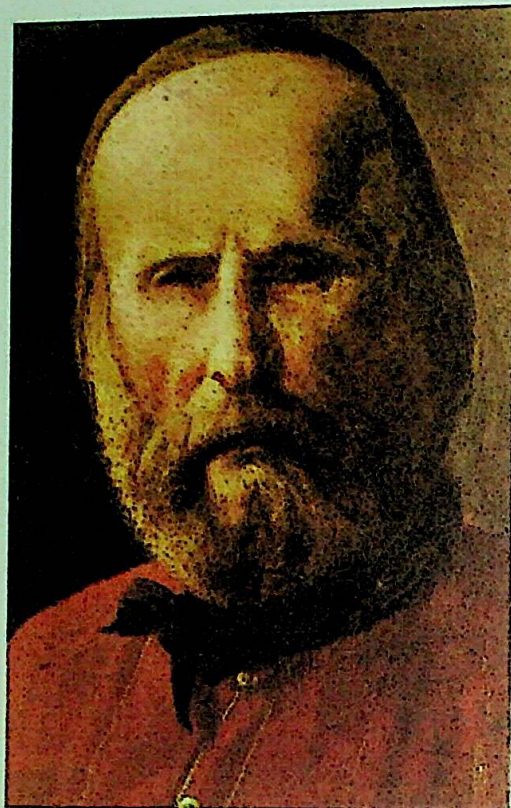
Cavour had been born in Turin fifty years earlier. He was unusually cosmopolitan for an Italian aristocrat. His mother was Swiss, and he himself was educated in France. Afterwards he travelled in England to study its politics and agriculture, before returning to Piedmont to edit the constitutionalist newspaper, *Il Risorgimento*. He had also spent a short time as an officer with the Piedmontese engineers, before losing his commission because of his liberal views. Once in the cabinet, his rise was meteoric. First appointed minister of agriculture, marine, and commerce, he became secretary of the treasury within a few months. After a very short spell out of office, he replaced D'Azeglio as prime minister only twenty-five months after taking his first cabinet post. From 1852 until his death in 1861, aside from a few months in retirement on his estate, he ruled Piedmont.

When his first government was formed, Cavour was forty-two, personally rich, and one of the most popular men in Italy. The people of Turin called him 'Daddy Camillo'. He quickly launched a programme of reform. Unpopular convents were suppressed to the profit of the government. The army was modernised by La Marmora. Above all, Cavour aimed at interesting foreign businessmen in Piedmont's survival and success. British investors sank money in his railway expansion. Communications with France



Above right: Morelli's graphic painting shows the scene in the Place de l'Opéra after Orsini's attempt to assassinate Napoleon III. (Musée Carnavalet, Paris.) After this Napoleon played into the hands of Cavour (above). (Brera Gallery, Milan.) Right: a trooper of the Piedmont Household Cavalry. Cavour's preparations paid off at the Battle of Magenta, sketched on far right. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





were improved, particularly through beginning work on the Mt Cenis Tunnel, to bring the magnates in Paris closer to those of Turin.

These measures raised the flagging hopes of Italian nationalists, who deserted Mazzini to follow the Sicilian exile, La Farina, now a champion of unification under the Piedmontese. Cavour was pledged to oppose Austria, and it was only a matter of time until he provoked a crisis. All he lacked for the struggle was a strong ally.

Plombières

He found such an ally in France. Napoleon III still had the vestiges of a liberal reputation as a result of his youthful involvement with the *Carbonari*, the romantic republicans of the years after the Napoleonic Wars. He was known to sympathise with the

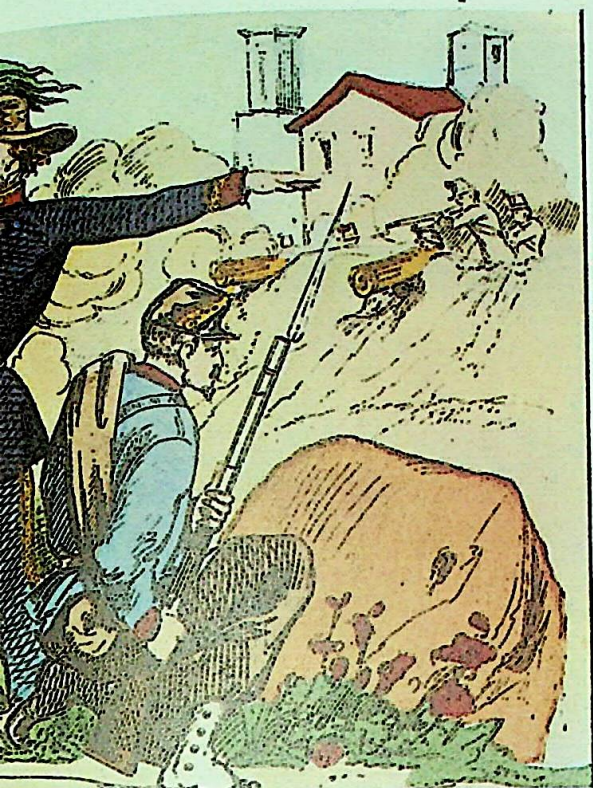
Italians. However, he was somewhat chary about unification, since this would inevitably lead to papal opposition. Even worse, it would offend groups of important Catholic voters in France.

Napoleon was no match for the brilliant diplomacy of Cavour. His master-stroke was to send a handful of crack Piedmontese troops to help the French and British in the Crimean War against Russia. La Marmora and his men gained much of what little credit was to be had from this disastrous campaign, and Cavour was invited to the peace talks in Paris in 1856. Napoleon, as usual clumsily anxious to appear as the champion of nationalism, denounced the oppression of northern Italy in front of the astonished Austrian delegates. Naturally they refused to discuss the subject, but Cavour had gained exactly what he wanted. He had drawn attention to his cause. Pied-

mont had appeared as a European power, and the other powers had been warned of the general importance of the Italian situation.

Piedmont now went from strength to strength. The whole nationalist movement was swinging over to constitutionalism. In Lombardy-Venetia, even the Mazzinian leader, Daniele Manin, the hero of the 1848 rising against the Austrians, gave support for unification under Victor Emmanuel shortly before his death in 1857. The flamboyant Garibaldi, who had been Mazzini's right hand man in 1848, offered his sword to Piedmont as its reputation for liberalism improved. Loyalty to Victor Emmanuel grew stronger throughout the north Italian states, including the Austrian ones.

On the other hand, Mazzini lost support as fast as Cavour gained it. Indeed he sponsored the abortive rising of 1857 in



Naples to prevent the loss of his republican followers to the monarchists of Turin. If the Bourbons had been defeated in the Two Sicilies, republicanism would have swept through the whole of Italy. After the miserable failure of this revolt, however, the Mazzinians, with their warm, romantic idealism, became a voice in the wilderness. Only success could succeed, and in the 1850s all the successes were Cavour's.

Cavour meanwhile continued trying to inveigle Napoleon into an alliance. 'Italia farà da se' ('Italy will go it alone'), the slogan of 1848, had become outmoded, and Napoleon's help was essential for the attack on Austria. However, Cavour's hopes for an alliance were set back by the 'Orsini Plot'. One January evening in 1858, when Napoleon and the empress Eugénie were on their way to the Paris Opera, they narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of an embittered Italian refugee, Felice Orsini.

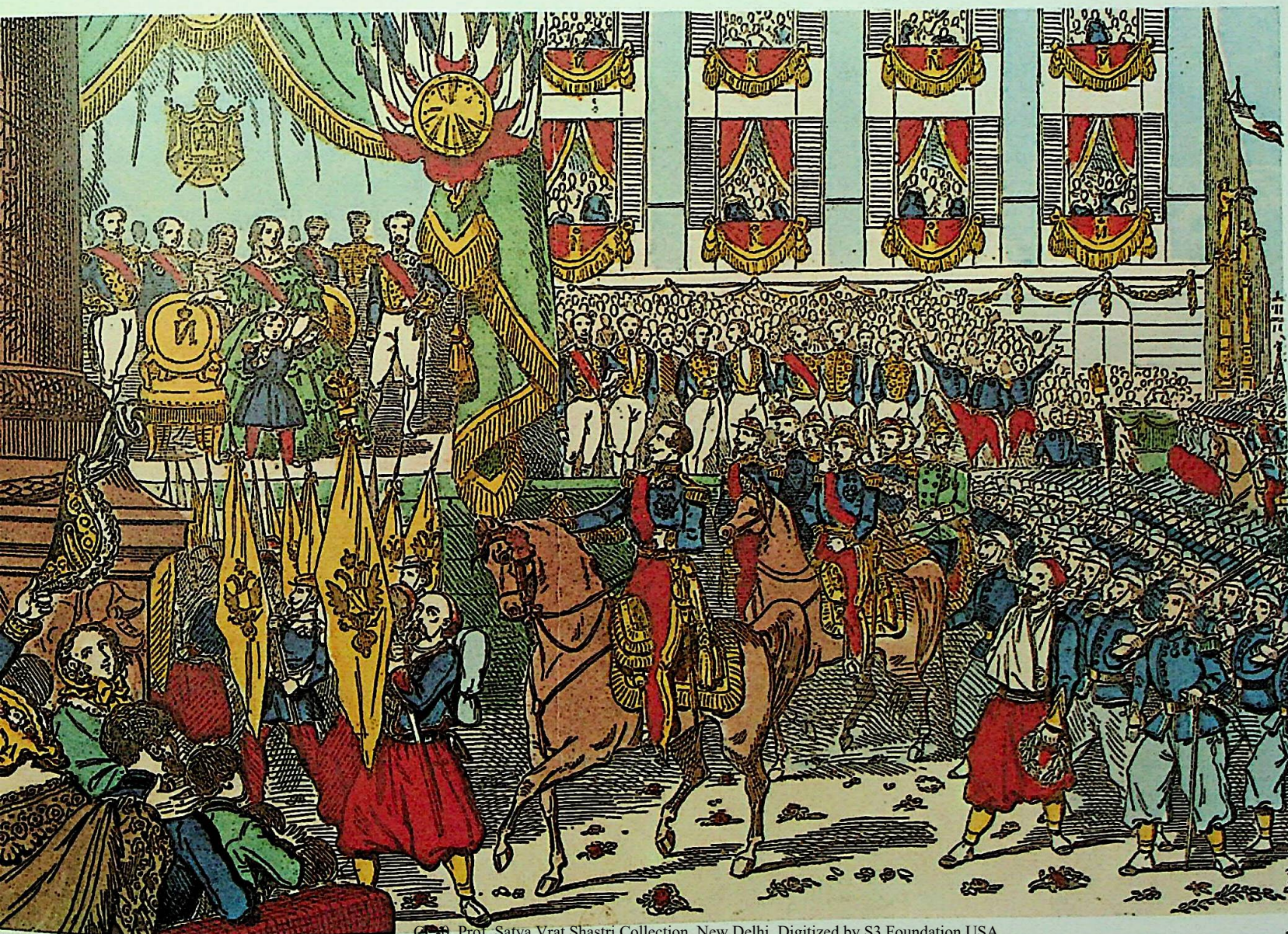
The concern of this most misunderstood of emperors for those injured by Orsini's bomb shows better aspects of his character than those stressed by critical historians. In

Napoleon made peace with the Austrians partly because of his fear that Rome would be threatened by extremist nationalists led by Garibaldi (far left). (Museo del Risorgimento, Milan.)

Left: Garibaldi leads his mountain infantry forward at the Battle of Varese.

Below left: Napoleon takes leave of Victor Emmanuel.

Below: Napoleon and his troops are feted in Paris. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



the long run. Orsini's attempt actually helped the cause of unification. His appealing letters to the emperor, and his dignified call for help to Italy from his scaffold, increased French sympathy for the nationalists. After the first violent protests to Turin, Napoleon accepted his would-be murderer's advice to 'do something for Italy'. Cavour and he met secretly at the little resort of Plombières in July.

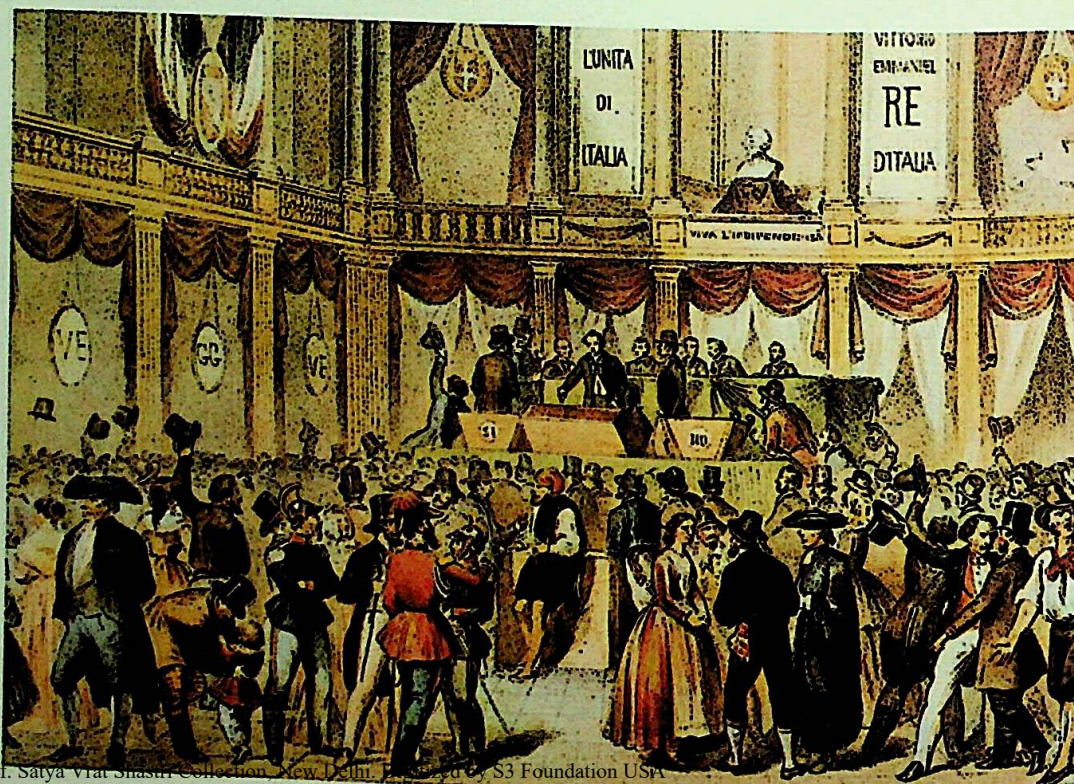
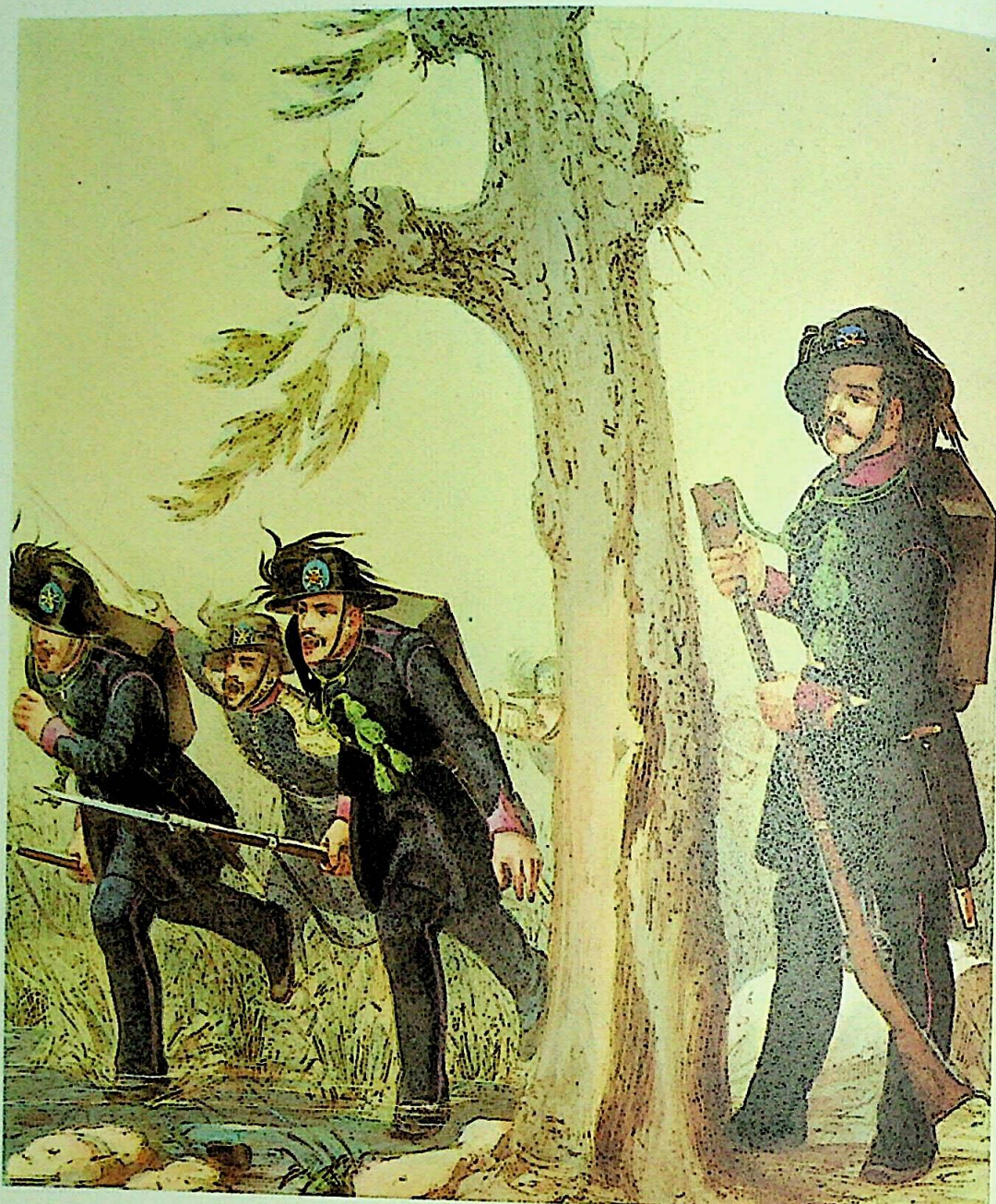
In fact neither Cavour nor Napoleon was interested in uniting Italy. Napoleon had no wish to antagonise Pius IX, and Cavour shrank from having prosperous Piedmont saddled with the backward southern states. However, they agreed that after war with Austria, a kingdom of northern Italy should be formed, in exchange for which France was to gain Nice and Savoy. Princess Clotilde of Piedmont was to marry Napoleon's cousin. It was vaguely agreed that all Italy was to become a federation under the pope. Piedmont, however, was to go to war with Austria only on a pretext which would justify French intervention on her side. This conspiratorial bargain became the basis of a formal treaty in January 1859.

'The die is cast'

Cavour at once prepared to set Piedmont on a war footing. He floated new loans, had Garibaldi organise groups of guerrillas, and began to mass troops on the Lombard frontier. A much more difficult problem, however, was preventing Napoleon from changing his mind about the whole plan. As soon as the possibility of war became real, characteristically, he began to talk vaguely in favour of an international conference on Italy. It had dawned on him that Paris bankers, and the conservative and clerical parties who supported him, were firmly opposed to French involvement.

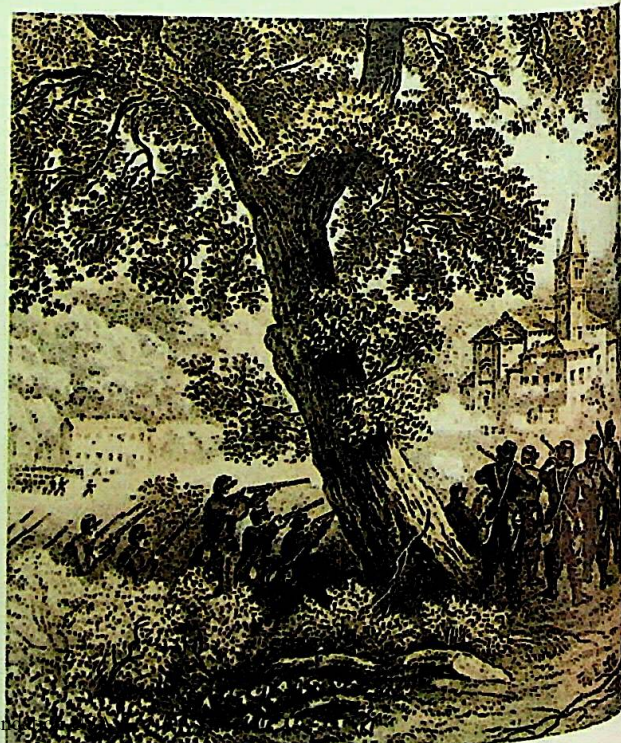
Fortunately for Cavour, Napoleon's mind was made up for him by an Austrian blunder. In April Vienna delivered an ultimatum demanding Piedmontese disarmament. After it had been rejected, on the 26th, war was inevitable. Cavour's delight was expressed in his famous (and probably rehearsed) comment '*Alea iacta est*. [The die is cast.] We have made history—so now to dinner!'. France dutifully entered the war against Austria.

When the French crossed the Alps and joined with the Piedmontese a month later, they were slightly outnumbered by an Austrian army of 200,000 men. The first set battle of the war was at the small market town of Palestro, where the personal bravery of *il re galantuomo* was so striking that he was made an honorary corporal in Napoleon's zouaves. The Austrians fell back, and were defeated more decisively at Magenta. But although the allied monarchs rode into Milan in triumph, the Austrians under General Benedek simply fell back on the virtually impregnable fortresses of the





Bit by bit, Italy decided by plebiscite to accept annexation to Piedmont.
Far left: fashionable Naples casts its votes.
(Private collection.)
Left: Garibaldi, disgruntled by the cession of Nice to France, leaves for Caprera yet again.
(Museo del Risorgimento, Rome.)
Above left: the irregular Bersaglieri.
Above: Italian cavalrymen force Sicilian bandits to be free—to accept northern rule.
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Quadrilateral, which controlled the basin of the River Po.

They struck back at the French savagely on 24 June at Solferino, checking the advance of Macmahon and the Piedmontese. Although this was one of the bloodiest battles of the century, and the tales of its slaughter prompted the foundation of the international Red Cross, it was in effect a draw. Control of northern Italy still lay in the balance.

The gentle Napoleon was horrified by the carnage he had witnessed. He was escorted vomiting from the battlefields of Magenta and Solferino. The imperial linen was even offered to augment first aid supplies. After Solferino, he took the first chance of making peace. In fact there were good reasons for the French to draw back. Macmahon's shattered troops were unlikely to make much impression on the Quadrilateral. At home, anti-war feeling was growing—even the empress Eugénie supported it. Prussia was moving forces up to the Rhine, to emphasise her leadership of the German states.

In Italy itself, the nationalists were doing rather better than Napoleon wished. In Tuscany, Cavour's agent, Ricasoli, deposed Grand Duke Leopold II, in favour of a provisional government which offered the crown to Victor Emmanuel. Modena and Parma also fell to the rebels. Worst of all, the papal legate was forced to flee for his life from the Romagna. The rage of Napoleon's clerical supporters made it impossible for him to support Italian nationalism any further. In mid-July the French and Austrians signed the Peace of Villafranca. Napoleon and his army returned across the Alps hated by the Italian nationalists. They seemed to have deserted when the Austrians were on the verge of total defeat. Cavour's

hopes for a kingdom of northern Italy had apparently come to nothing. He resigned and returned to his estates.

Northern Italy and Naples

Cavour did not remain out of office for long. When he formed a new government early in 1860, however, French opinion, partly because of the stability of the provisional government in Tuscany, had changed. It was also clear that a restoration of the expelled rulers of the Italian states would be impossible. Secret negotiations between Cavour and Napoleon reopened, and it was agreed that Piedmont should expand into central Italy. Lombardy had already been given to her at Villafranca, and she was now to gain Parma, Modena, and Tuscany. Savoy and Nice, however, were to go to France. Napoleon's condition was that these moves should be preceded by plebiscites to avoid the appearance of disregarding nationalist feelings. Naturally all the Italian population consulted declared overwhelmingly for union with Piedmont. In Savoy the ballot, whether rigged or otherwise, demanded annexation to France by 130,538 votes to 235, and the same decision was reached in Nice by 24,448 votes to 160.

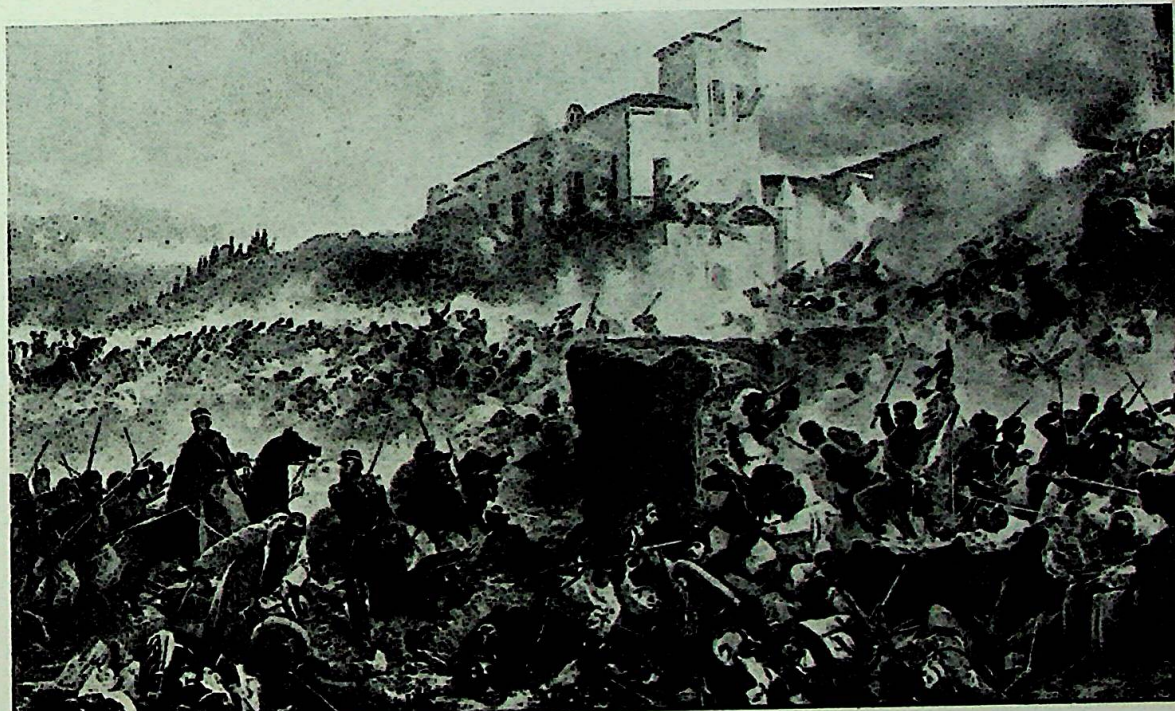
Although the Kingdom of northern Italy was now declared it appeared that Napoleon had been well rewarded for his half-hearted pains. The remaining absolutist princes were appalled at the disregard for the rights of their colleagues in the north, and moved even further to the right. The papacy remained doggedly opposed to liberalism, perhaps partly because Napoleon had now moved over to attacking it. Soon after Villafranca he had sponsored a French pamphlet calling for the removal of the secular power of the Vatican.

Garibaldi's heroism became a legend throughout Europe, from the Magenta campaign onwards.

Below left: his 'Hunters of the Alps' attack the village of San Fermo, in 1859.

Far left below: some of his Redshirts struggle with Bourbon troops at the Battle of Sessa, in the Sicilian campaign of 1860. A few weeks later Garibaldi conducted the most brilliant action of the war, on the Volturno, when his nationalist army (left) opened the way to Naples. (Museo del Risorgimento, Rome.)

Below: the terrible suffering of the wounded at the Battle of Solferino on 24 June 1859 inspired Jean Henri Dunant to found the International Red Cross, as an organisation for helping the war wounded.





In Naples, the Bourbon government was if anything even more wedded to its ancient traditions of reaction. Indeed northern and southern Italy might as well have been two separate countries. The north had become an industrial state characteristic of modern Europe. Its financiers and businessmen flourished, and had a voice in the affairs of the state, but the kingdom of the Two Sicilies had changed little since the Middle Ages. Its agriculture was still feudal, and it was quite without industry. Overseas trade and the modernising contacts which went with it were also lacking.

Certainly, feudalism had been technically abolished in 1818, even on the island of Sicily itself. A small proportion of aristocratic land, and a number of church fiefs, had even been put on the market. But the peasantry, who lived by subsistence farming, had little money, and those who did buy holdings soon went bankrupt. The old

feudal magnates at once moved in to buy land which had theoretically been confiscated from them.

In the end the system remained essentially unaltered, except that a few of the tiny Neapolitan middle class managed to buy land, and began aping the ways of the aristocracy. Even in 1860, the miserable people of the two Sicilies were dominated by a handful of backward-looking barons. Cavour would certainly have avoided liability for this archaic and poverty-stricken land if it had not been forced on him by the romantic nationalist Garibaldi.

Giuseppe Garibaldi

Garibaldi was fifty-four in 1860. In his teens he had been a sailor, on the route to the Black Sea and the Levant. He left the sea out of enthusiasm for Mazzini's 'Young Italy' movement in the 1830s. After being

Far left: a contemporary drawing shows a collection of the improvised forces led by Garibaldi in the short-lived Roman Republic of 1849.

Below left: In 1859 the combined forces of France and Sardinia won a decisive victory against the Austrians at Magenta. This painting of the Italian camp is by G. Frattori. (Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Florence).

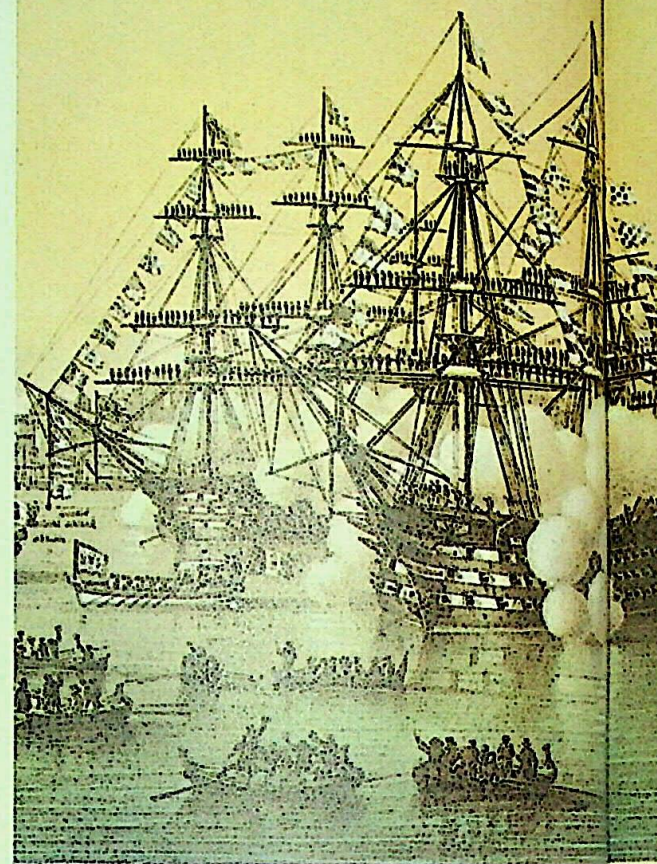
Below: the embarkation of the 'Thousand' from Quarto on 5 May 1860. Garibaldi is standing in the boat on the left.

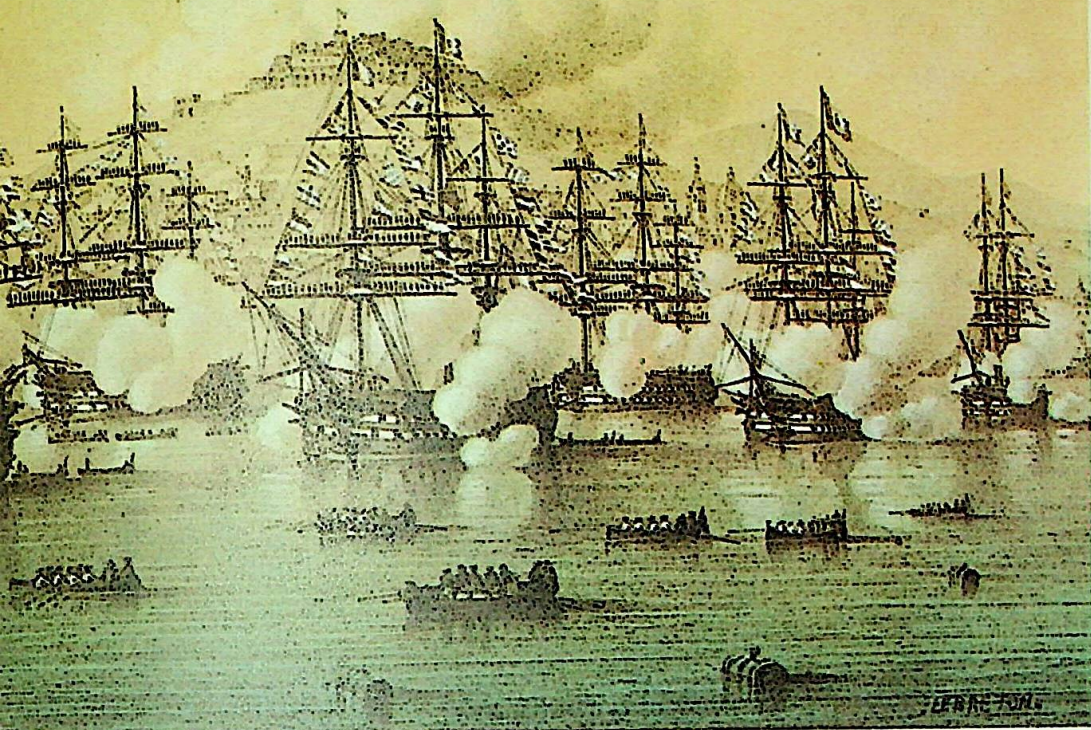


Right: a formal welcome for Victor Emmanuel from Piedmontese men o'war in the bay of Naples. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Below: the Bourbon magazine explodes as the Piedmontese shell the fortress of Gaeta. (Museo del Risorgimento, Rome.)

Below right: Naples greets Garibaldi. (Private collection.)





condemned to death by Charles Albert. Victor Emmanuel's father, in the Piedmontese rising of 1834, he was pardoned, and emigrated to South America. He fought for the insurgents of Rio Grande Province against the Braganza emperor, Dom Pedro I of Brazil. In the Uruguyan War of Independence against Argentina, which was eventually successful, he fought at the head of a battalion of Italian volunteers.

When the dramatic news of 1848 reached Uruguay, the Italian community in Montevideo collected money to send Garibaldi home, and he sailed for Europe with his young American wife, Anita Ribeiros. After fighting at first for his old enemy the House of Savoy, he went to the aid of the Mazzinian revolutionaries in Rome. When Pius IX was restored by Oudinot's French soldiers, he fled to New York, where he worked briefly as a candlemaker before going back to sea. His wife had died during the flight from Rome.

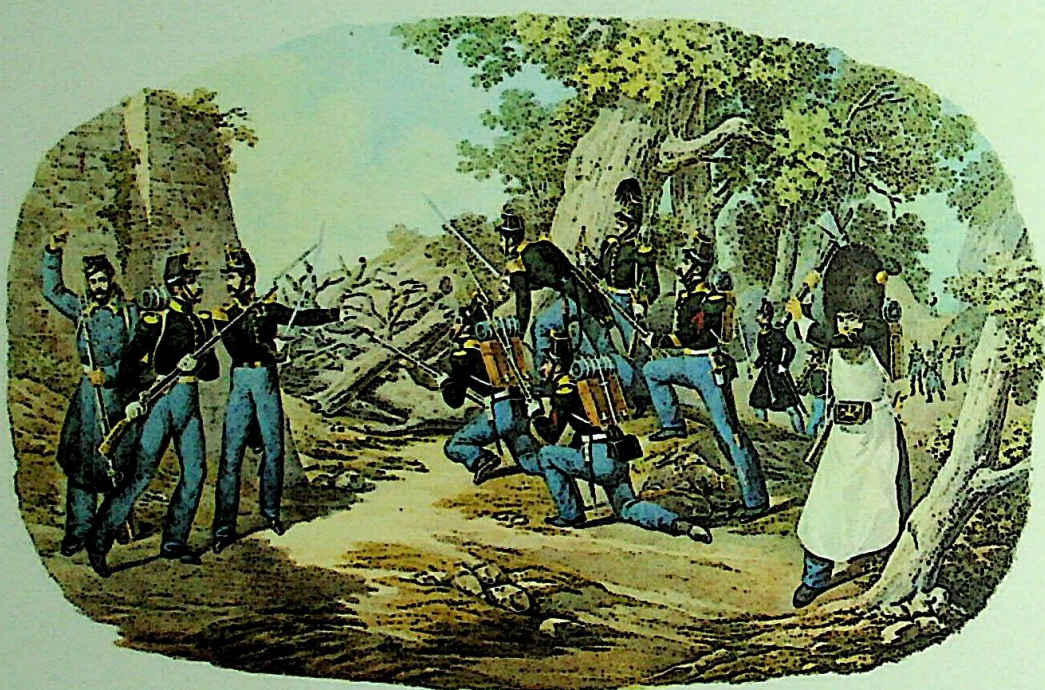
The Thousand

Garibaldi returned to Nice, the town where he had been born, in 1854. Like most Italian nationalists in these years, he came to see unification under Piedmont as being the only realistic hope. He and his irregulars, the 'Hunters of the Alps' gave the war of 1859 a note of glamour which impressed all Europe. Next year he and his redshirted volunteers, the 'Thousand', prepared to sail for Sicily to assist a revolt against the Bourbon government. With little expectation that this would succeed, but glad to cause trouble in the south, Cavour helped equip the expedition. However, its success was so dramatic that Piedmont became deeply involved in Naples, and was eventually pushed into absorbing it.

Garibaldi landed at Marsala in May 1860. Although the peasants showed little enthusiasm and the landowners none, he had proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy and taken Palermo in a month. Unfortunately it was no easier for a liberal to improve the lot of the peasants than it had been for the Sicilian nobles. Their only interest was in land, and as the insurrection spread they rose savagely against their masters—just as the French peasants had done in 1789.

No concessions could stop civil war from spreading throughout Sicily. Not even Garibaldi had any brief for anarchy of this sort. The unfortunate aristocracy now saw the 'Thousand' as the only force which could save them, became nationalists overnight, and flocked to the banner of Piedmont. Hundreds of bewildered peasants were shot or thrown into the dungeons of the Bourbons. Yet Garibaldi's advance continued through the island. Messina fell at the end of July, and the Redshirts prepared to cross the straits and threaten Naples itself.





Cavour and Naples

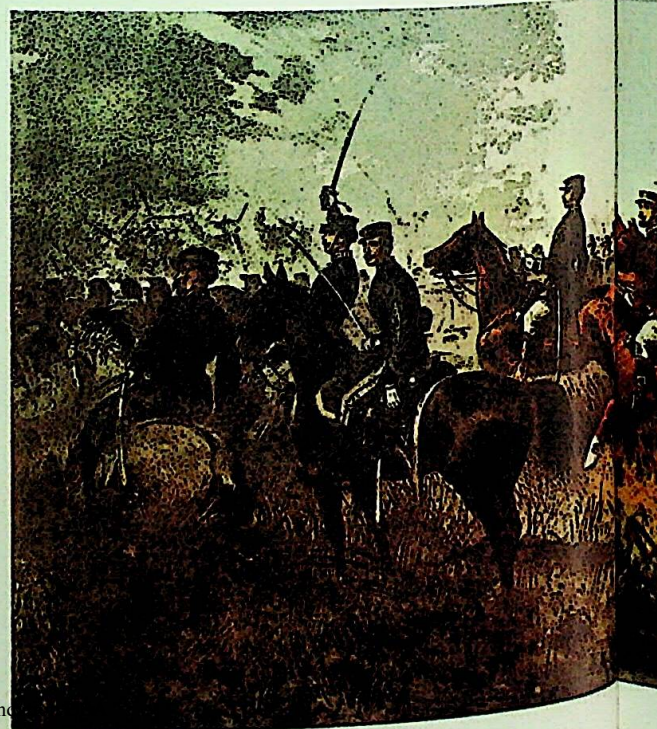
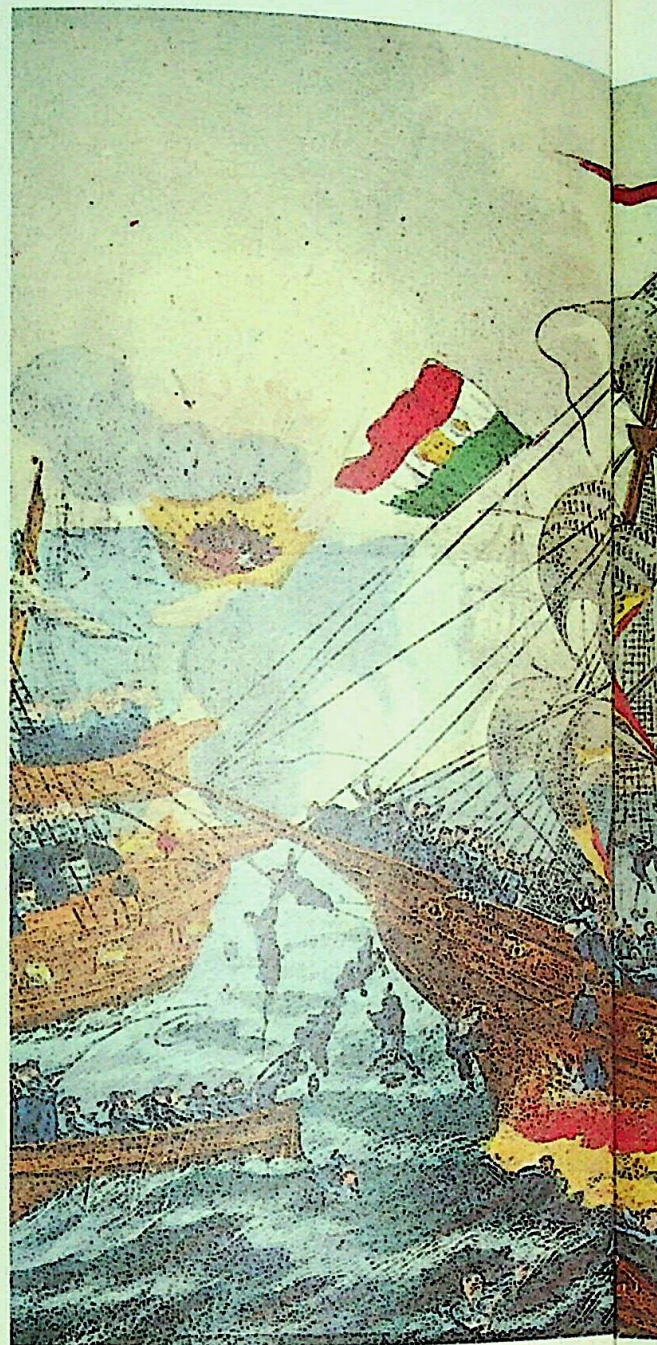
Francis II, king of the Two Sicilies, wavered. He offered a new constitution to try to fob off the revolutionaries. However, he was probably not as frightened as Cavour, who had visions of an embarrassing Mazzinian revolution sweeping through the south. He frantically ordered Garibaldi not to begin the advance on Naples. He dreaded a revolt in Rome which would bring foreign intervention.

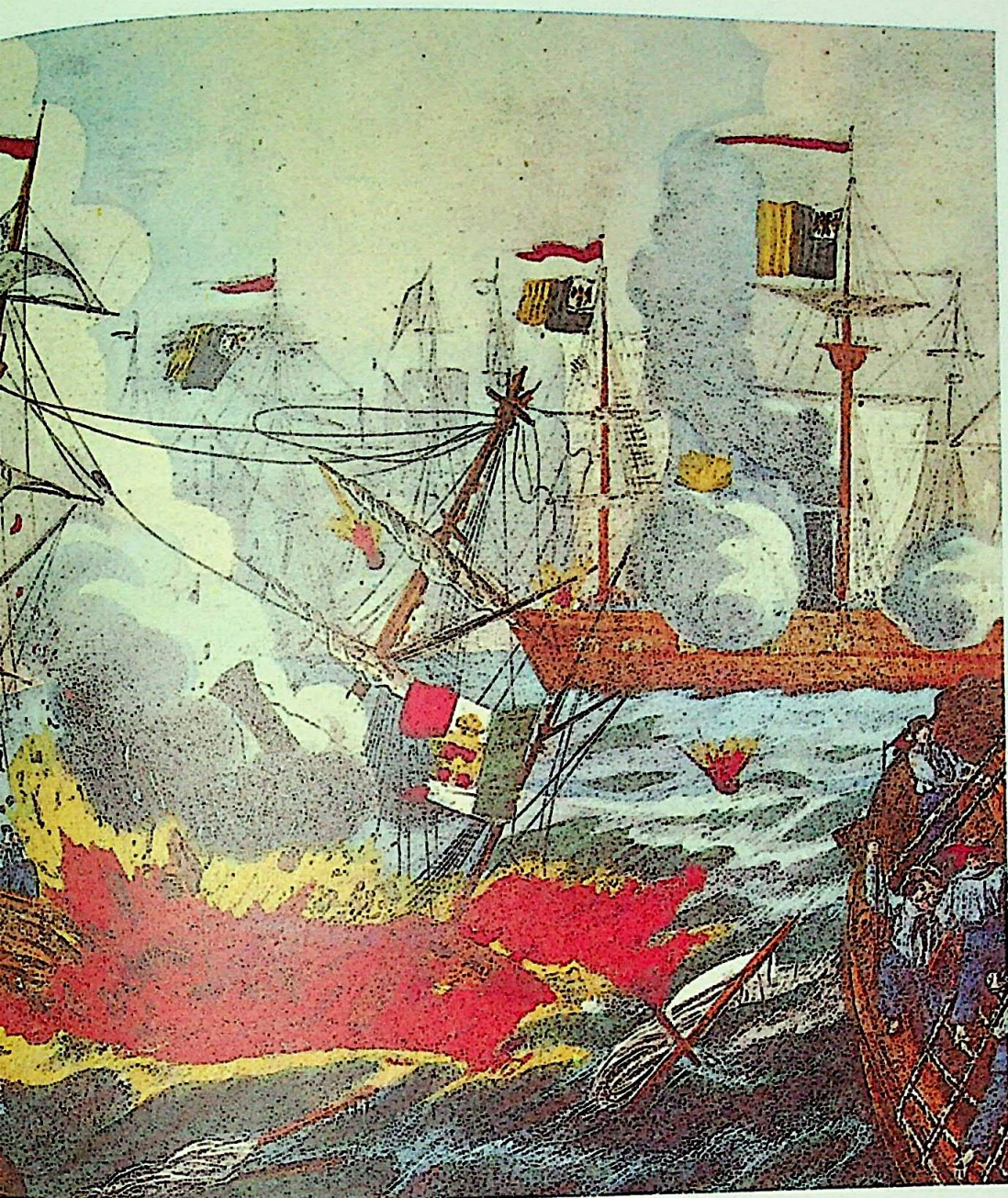
Garibaldi's nationalism was much more uncompromising. With his romantic vision of ancient Italy reunified, diplomatic complications were meaningless. Nor did he see the difficulties of uniting north and south. Cavour did not want Naples, because his first concern was for Piedmont. Garibaldi did want it, since his first care was for Italy.

Garibaldi went ahead with his plans. He crossed the Straits of Messina, defeated the Austrians on the Volturno, and sent Francis

scuttling from his capital to Gaeta. Cavour now had to intervene. He soon gained the approval of Napoleon, who could easily be persuaded that anything was better than a republican Rome. Cavour's agents stirred up rebellion in the papal states, and massed troops on its borders. On the pretext of defending liberal movements which the pope was attacking in Umbria, the Piedmontese then defeated the surprisingly stubborn papal army at Castelfidardo.

Meanwhile, Garibaldi had taken Naples. Cavour's army marched south to join him, carefully avoiding Rome itself. Although Garibaldi had at first said that he would hand Naples to Victor Emmanuel only if Rome was taken first, he handed over power to the Piedmontese army peacefully. After the inevitable plebiscites, which must have been meaningless in peasant areas at least, Naples, Sicily, and the occupied areas of the Papal States were annexed by the Kingdom of northern Italy. The first parliament of all





Italy met—in Turin—in February 1861. The following month it was announced that 'Victor Emmanuel II assumes for himself and his successors the title of king of Italy'.

The kingdom of Italy

The outlook for the new kingdom was not very bright. Though Cavour had taken his chances when they came, he had not wanted unification at this stage. He still had to pay the Piedmontese army, and to complete his communications system. Pius IX remained steadfastly opposed to the new régime. Worst of all was the backwardness of the south. Cavour had never wanted it, and knew that forging a new Italy from the disparate north and south would be as difficult as the tasks he had already accomplished. The two Sicilies were far removed from the brave new world of the industrialised Kingdom of Northern Italy.

Cavour died eleven weeks after his master had been proclaimed king of Italy. Even today, the slums of Naples show that the gigantic task he began has not been accomplished. In the 1880s and 1890s, hundreds of thousands of southern Italians flocked to the United States and Latin America in search of a better world. Joseph Conrad's novel *Nostromo* gives a fine picture of the life of such emigrant labourers.

At home, life in Naples and Sicily went from bad to worse. The romantic liberalism of Garibaldi's Redshirts had done very little for the southern peasantry. Although unification meant that the markets of northern businessmen expanded into the two Sicilies, its economic needs were modest. Disgruntled merchants complained that the only things they could sell to the peasants were rosary beads. Southern life therefore had to be standardised to create a need for northern merchandise. The peasantry were ruthlessly taxed to pay the salaries of the officials who were to do this, yet gained few benefits from unification.

The first Italian governments, not surprisingly, were northern, and shrank from spending money in an area with little business potential. As for the southern barons, their position was left all but untouched. They still controlled local government, and the new officials from Turin did little to help the peasants against their masters. In fact, the new government bought the loyalty of the magnates by guaranteeing their ownership of the land and their control over the peasants. Indeed they were net gainers from the revolution, since they had the assets to buy up land which Garibaldi in his sincerity had distributed among the peasants.

Although redistribution of land was begun again in 1861, with compulsory breaking up of the greatest fiefs, the barons did what they had done after 1818, and quickly repossessed their land. The only



The young kingdom of Italy had mixed fortunes in Bismarck's Austro-Prussian War.

Above: a lithograph of the Battle of Lissa shows the destruction of the Italian navy. (Bertarelli Collection, Milan.)

Left: the battle of Custoza.

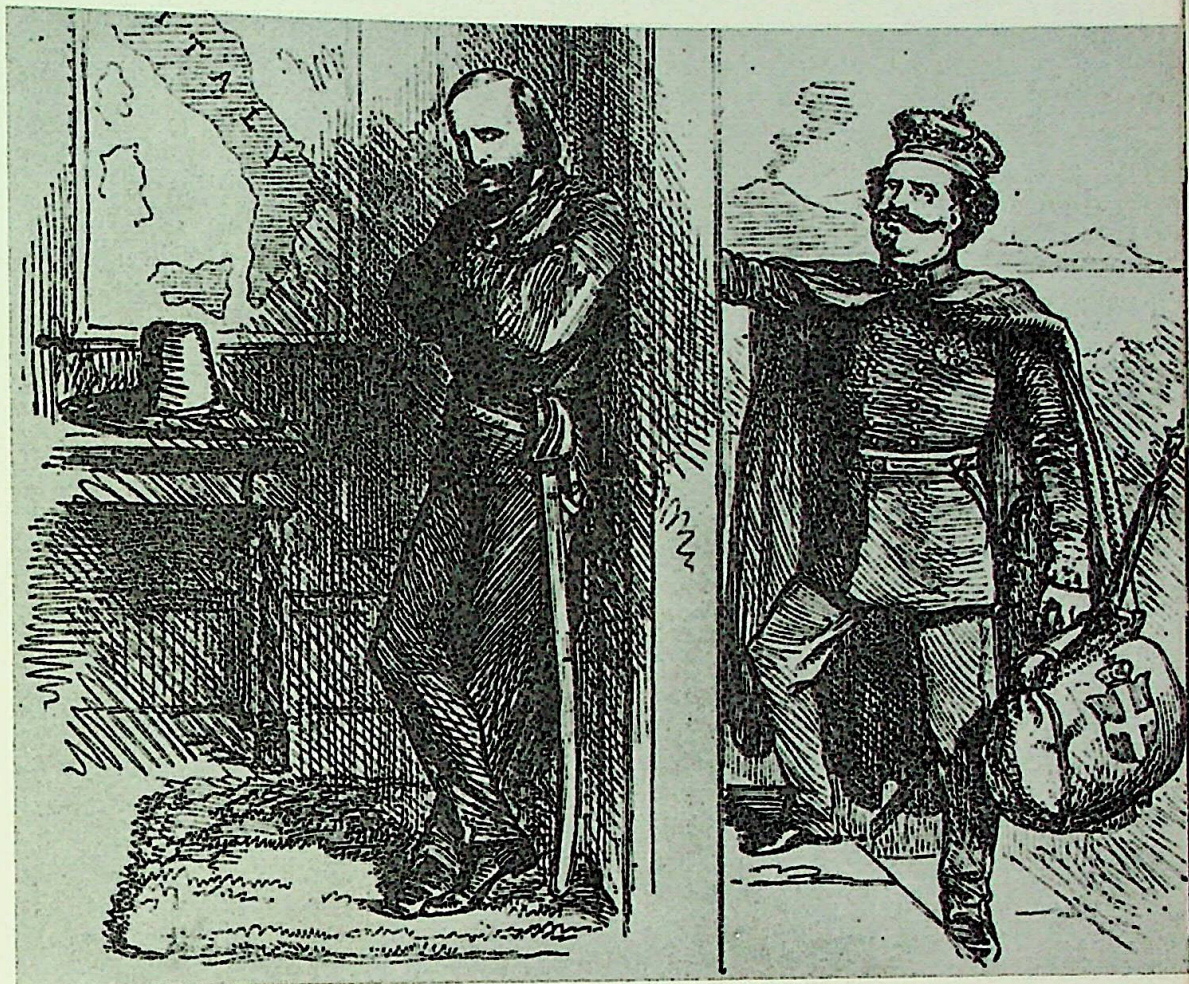
Far left: a detachment of the much-feared Piedmontese mountain infantry. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Above: a map of Italy and her neighbours during the Risorgimento. This was the period of cultural nationalism and political unification in Italy. A series of uprisings throughout the first half of the nineteenth century culminated in the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in March 1861. By 1870 the country was unified and free from foreign domination.

Garibaldi's legion was a truly international group of men. Volunteers of several nationalities were enrolled in it. Right: a Hungarian colonel who fought for Italian liberation.





After Garibaldi's spectacularly successful campaign in southern Italy during the summer of 1860, he was acclaimed by the populace as virtual ruler.
Above: a Punch cartoon of 6 October 1860 shows Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia

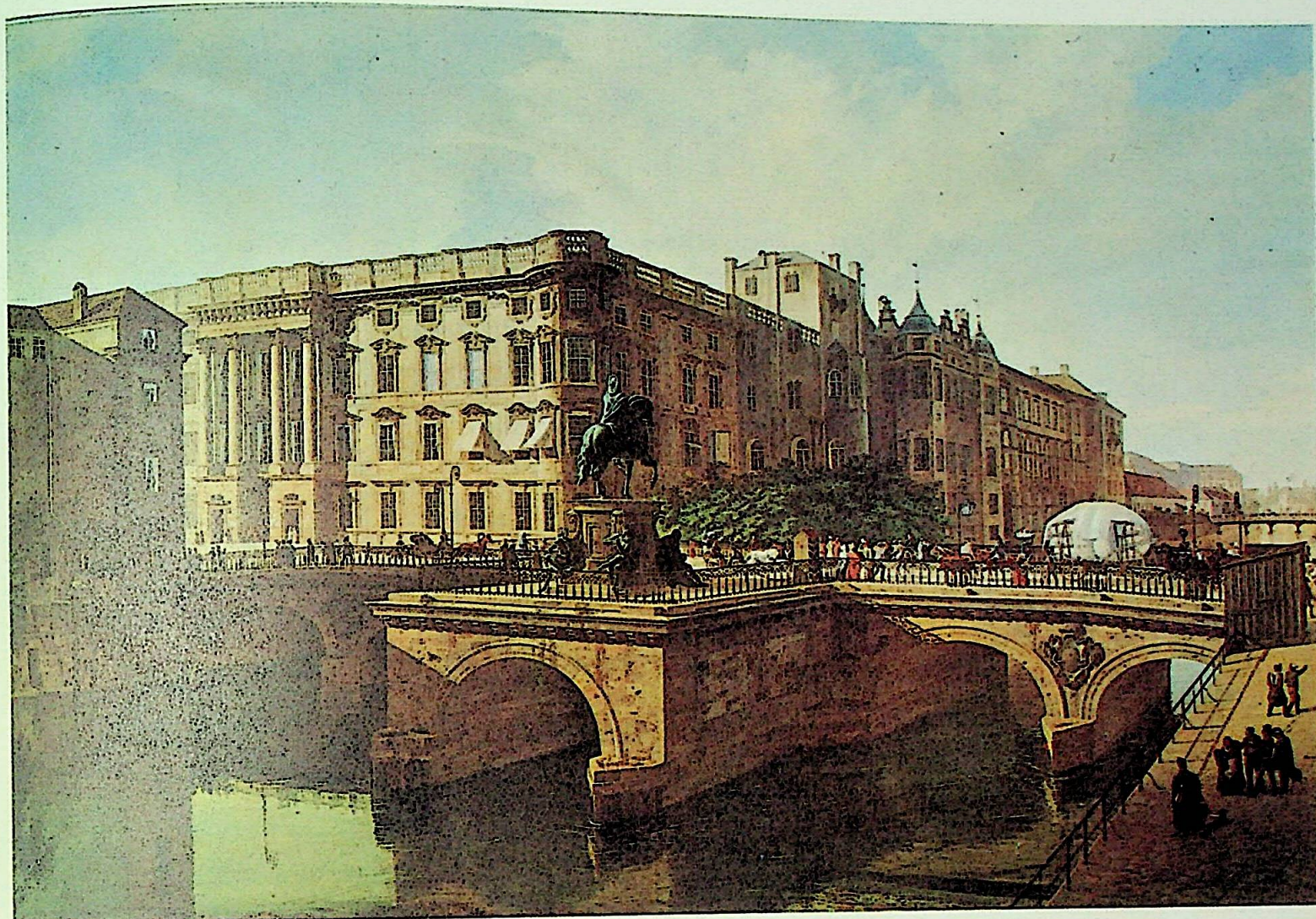
banging on the door of southern Italy. Garibaldi is 'the man in possession'. Below: the meeting between Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel at Teano, near Naples, after which Garibaldi relinquished his conquests to Sardinia.





*In 1867 as in 1849, only Napoleon's hasty order to occupy Rome saved it from the nationalists.
 Above: his troops tear down an Italian flag in the Holy City. (Private collection.)
 Right: a skirmish at Caserta, on the way from Naples to Rome. (Museo del Risorgimento, Rome.)
 Above right: part of the royal palace in Berlin. (Charlottenburg Castle, West Berlin.)*





difference was that they were now joined by a sprinkling of rich middle-class businessmen, many of them northern. They too found it easy to cheat the simple and usually illiterate peasantry, who found themselves perilously placed tenant farmers—exactly the position they had occupied since the tenth century. Not only this, but all classes in the south had to meet national taxes geared to the prosperity of Italy as a whole, and unrelated to their small means.

The hope of industrialising the south under the new regime soon faded. What tiny amounts of capital were available were leached off to the north, for no corresponding return. Little was spent on communications and irrigation in Naples and Sicily, where they were most needed. Perhaps worst of all, the self-confident north soon removed tariff barriers which were essential for the protection of infant industries in the south. Low priced imports now came not only from Piedmont and Tuscany, but from Britain and France. The modest family and craft concerns of Naples were destroyed.

Disillusionment with the government of united Italy partly explains the prevalence of banditry as a way of life in the mountain areas of the south. There is a great deal of glamour about our modern picture of the Sicilian bandit. But this does not hide the

fact that he was often a man who had found that even with the utmost initiative it was not possible to make a living within the limits laid down by well-heeled officials from Turin. Although there was no leadership to mount a real organised resistance, the bandits were also encouraged by Bourbon agents trying to disrupt the government of the new nation. Indeed the latter was often goaded into clumsy measures of repression, which made the bandits public heroes and bred violent hatred of the north. Italy was not able to solve the problem of Naples in the nineteenth century.

Rome and Venice

After Cavour's death, his successors continued the policy of centralisation in the north. But all their efforts could not hide the fact that Turin was not the natural capital of Italy. The country could only be fully united from the centre, from Rome, which was still occupied by a French garrison determined to defend Pius IX's rights. There was also the haunting fear that Garibaldi or some other extremist might do something rash to create a crisis over Rome or the *Italia irridenta* still under Austrian control.

After Garibaldi had been narrowly pre-

vented from invading the Austrian Trentino, in the north, by the personal order of Victor Emmanuel, he gathered a group of alarmingly determined volunteers in Palermo, and attacked Rome in August 1862. Although he was captured by the Italian army before he could attack the French, his expedition seriously compromised the new Piedmontese government of Ratazzi, at home and abroad. Successive governments fell, and after prolonged negotiations with Napoleon a temporary Roman settlement was reached. The French agreed to a staged withdrawal of their troops, while the Italians were to symbolise their renunciation of Rome by moving their capital from Turin to Florence.

Although the deal over Rome horrified nationalists throughout the country—not least those of Turin—they were more encouraged by gains made in 1866 by the government of La Marmora, the hero of the war of 1859. Part of Bismarck's preparation for war against Austria had been to ensure that France would stay neutral by an agreement made at Biarritz. To guarantee trouble for the Austrians on their southern frontier, he also formed an alliance with the Italians. But although Bismarck crushed the Austrians easily, Victor Emmanuel's troops were heavily defeated at Custozza and the

The last lap

The Roman problem seemed insoluble. The functions of church and state in the Holy See were bewilderingly interwoven. While the Italian government were debating the niceties of this situation, Garibaldi again raised the standard of revolt in Rome itself, in September 1867. Garibaldi was captured and, as usual, sent back to Caprera. However, he escaped in time to fight against a French division which was landed at Civit  Vecchia, forty miles north of Rome. They defeated and captured him at Mentana. Although European opinion turned very much against Napoleon's intervention, the French garrison remained in Rome.

Within Italy, the republicans were beginning to gain ground. Opinion was turning very much against a régime which would do nothing for Rome. It is even doubtful whether the Kingdom of Italy would have survived if it had not been handed to Rome by the crisis of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The French garrison was withdrawn for other duties, and Napoleon was deposed. Victor Emmanuel could argue that he had no obligations to the new Third Republic.

The Italian army swept into Rome in September. Pio Nono made no concessions, and considered himself a prisoner in the Vatican until his death in 1878. Indeed it was only with the Lateran Treaty of 1929 that Italian difficulties with the papacy were settled through the creation of the Vatican City State. Again, Trieste and the Trentino remained Austrian until 1918. But in 1870 Rome declared sweepingly for unification with the rest of Italy. The house of Sardinia-Piedmont now ruled over a united country, from the capital of the Caesars.

Germany

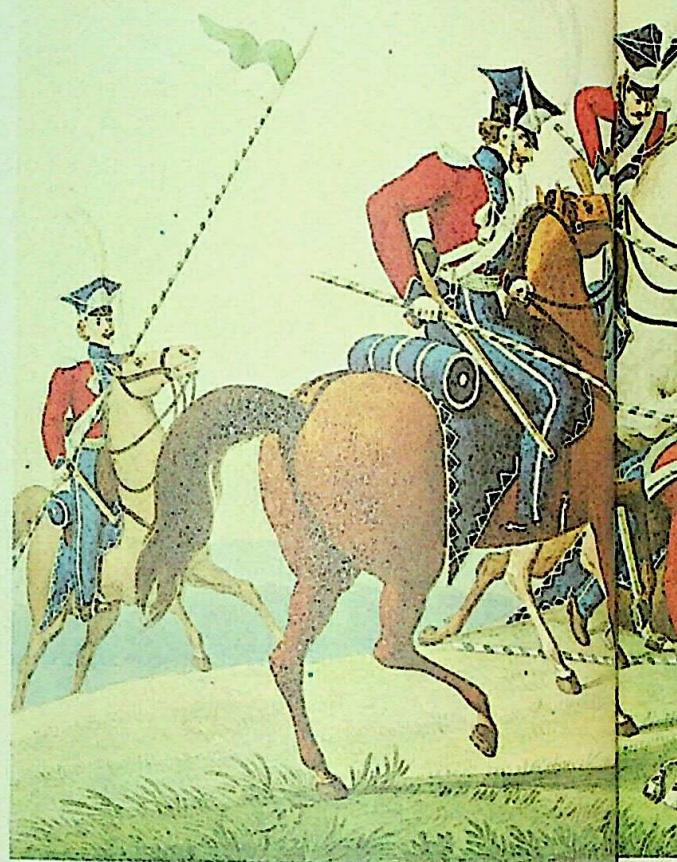
German unification was to change the course of European history even more dramatically than the emergence of the kingdom of Italy. The Battle of Sedan, which had given the Italians the chance to seize Rome, upset the balance of power in the West. The traditional Europe had been

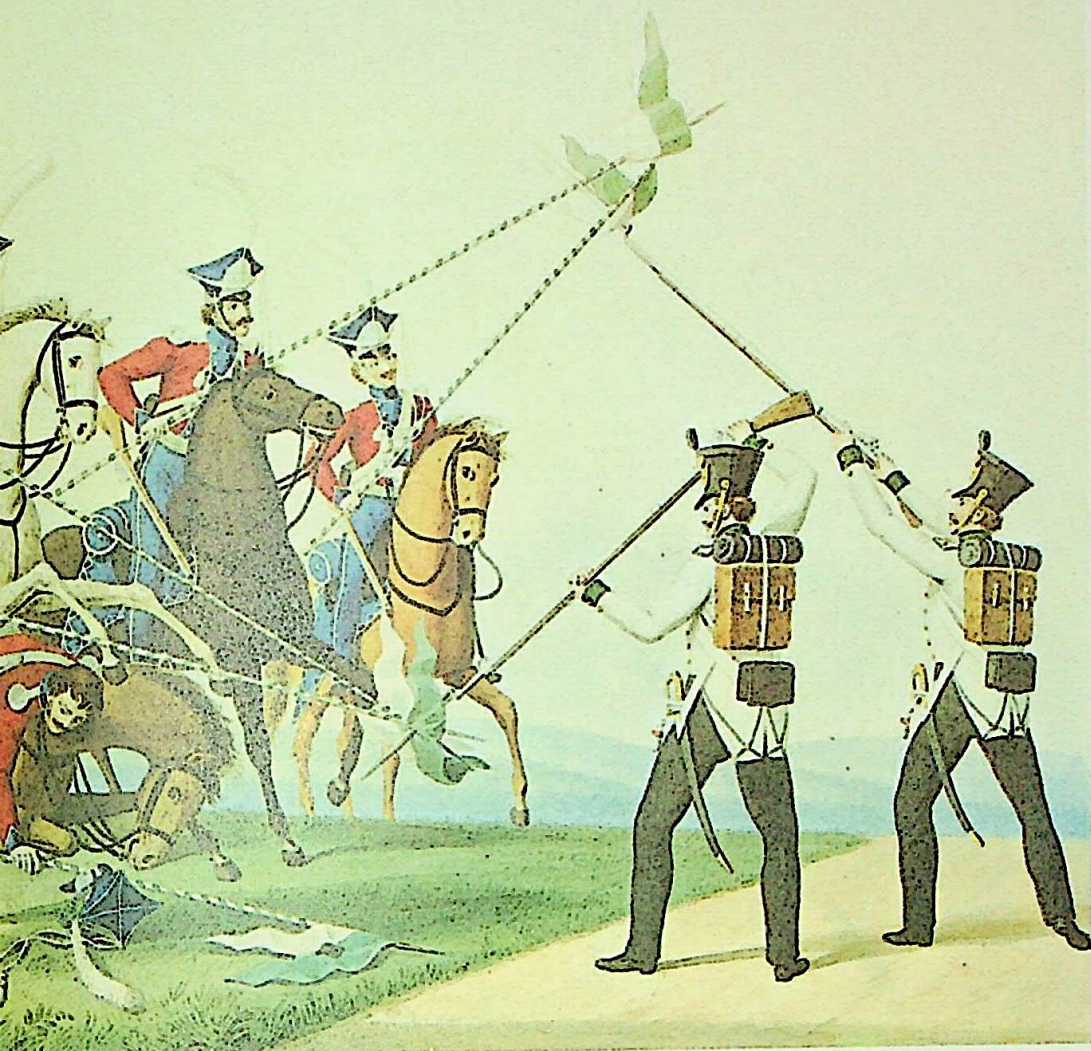
The rise of Prussia

After the failure of the 1848 revolutions, Germany, like Italy, remained as disunited as she had been since the Middle Ages. However, the number of independent states left had been reduced to thirty-eight, and all were members of an extremely weak confederation. Its nominal head was the Habsburg Emperor of Austria, and all states sent members to a central though powerless diet or parliament in Frankfurt. Certainly German liberals had developed a sense of common nationality. But the individual princes, from the emperor in Vienna downwards, were jealous of their privileges. All resented Austrian domination, but this did not mean they would listen to any plans which would threaten the integrity of their little statelets.

As in Italy, the 1848 failure had disillusioned the intellectuals who had led it. They drifted away from republicanism towards the strongest power which had shown any liberal inclinations—Prussia. Even here, hopes of success were low. After 1848 Austrian pressure had brought all the German states, including Prussia, into line against liberalism. Frederick William I was now an old man. The Prussian government was controlled by mediocre and thoroughly conservative ministers. Although second only to Austria within Germany, Prussia was still a second-rate power.

Yet the groundwork of future Prussian greatness was being laid. More than any of the neighbouring states, Prussia had gained from the *Zollverein* or German Customs Union. Formed under Prussian domination, this had defeated all other attempts to create Free Trade areas within Germany by the end of 1833, after which most of the other states joined it. Key seaports like Hamburg, however, remained outside. More significantly, Austria remained aloof, and was excluded even when the *Zollverein* was reorganised and strengthened in 1853. Prussian businessmen were given the opportunity of extending their interests throughout a wider area of Germany, and industrialisation was speeded up. Another important effect of the union was that the German railway system came to be centred on Berlin, a factor which was eventually to give Prussia considerable advantages in time of war.





*Bismarck cheerfully helped crush Polish rebels to win the tsar's friendship.
Left: peasants armed only with scythe blades stand against Russian cavalry at Miechow, in 1863.*

*Right: Saxon uhlands or lancers in action.
Above: Saxon infantry practise defensive bayonet drill against their own cavalry.
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Above right: portrait of Bismarck. (Institute for the History of the Risorgimento, Rome.)*





Prussia gained substantial territories at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but disappointed the hopes of German liberals by joining the Holy Alliance with Austria and Russia. Prussia did however take the lead in the economic unification of Germany (the Zollverein). In 1861

William I became king of Prussia and appointed Bismarck as his chief minister. Bismarck was to unify Germany by eliminating Austria from German affairs and ensure the supremacy of Prussia by deliberately instigating wars against three countries: Denmark, Austria and France.

During the decades before German unification, quite apart from the Zollverein, industrialisation went on apace. The country's vast mineral resources were tapped, and production revolutionised by complexes like that of the great ironmaster Alfred Krupp. Britain was no longer the only country with an industrial landscape. The peaceful countryside of Saxony, the Saar, and the Ruhr became new Lancshires. Germany was not spared the ugliness of industrialisation, the dirt of its sombre factories, and the misery of its poorest

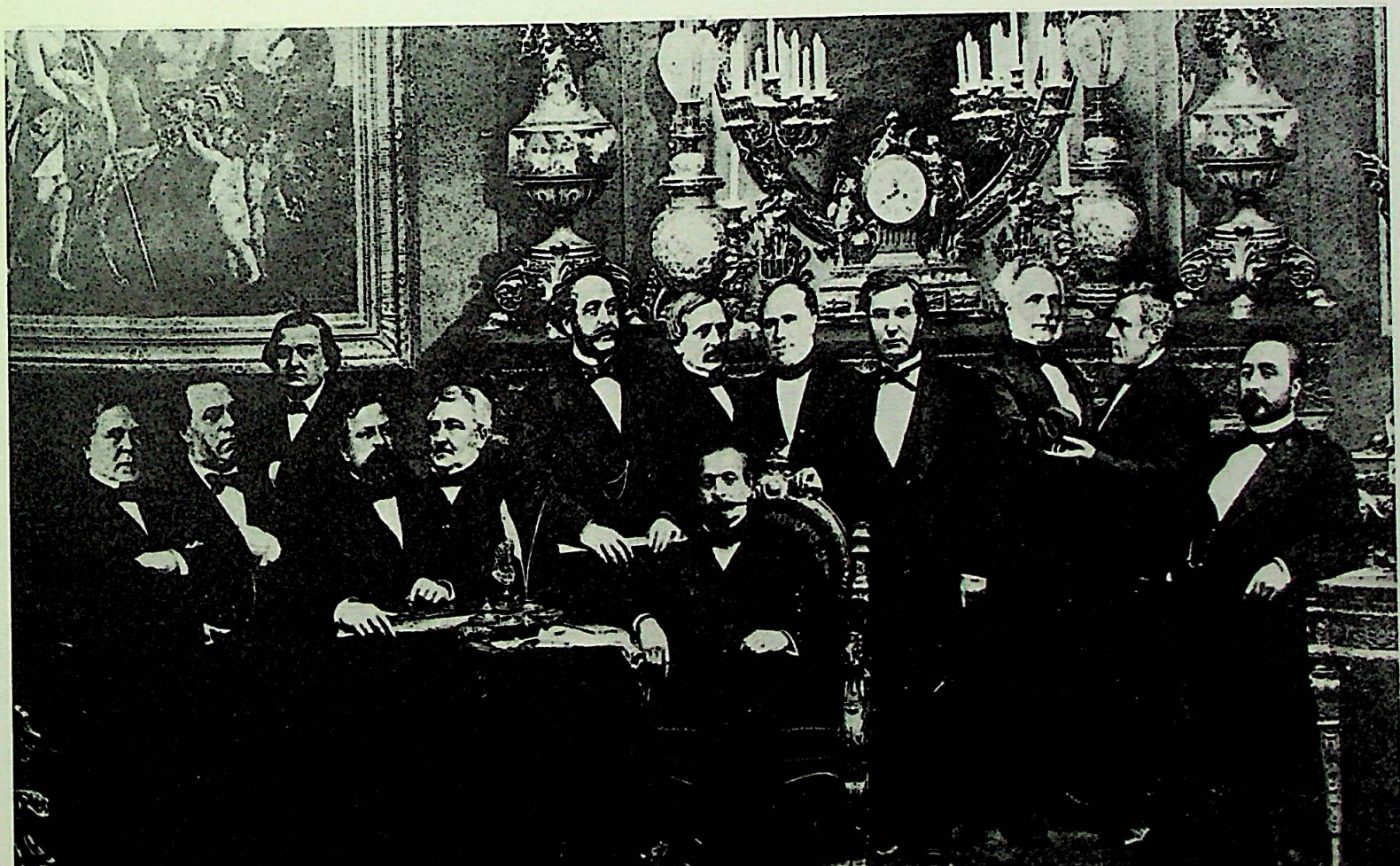
workers.

However, German society adapted readily. The hard-working middle classes were quick to adopt new methods, quick to re-invest their profits, and quick to make their businesses large and modern enough to compete with any others in the world. Even the solid, old-fashioned *Junkers*, who had ruled the villages and countryside of Prussia since the Middle Ages, were affected. They began to invest in industry with the profits from their land, or look for easier profits underneath it. Trade was no longer looked down



Above: the Battle of Sadowa (in German: Königgratz) in eastern Bohemia. It was here in 1866 that the Austrians were decisively beaten by the Prussians. French apprehension at the increasing strength of Prussia, which was deliberately

encouraged by Bismarck led to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Below: a photograph of the French cabinet presided over by Napoleon III which declared war on Prussia on 2 January 1870.





on by the north German aristocracy, in spite of the Prussian love of military display, and industrialisation was all the easier for it.

Prussia's modernisation was encouraged by its ruling house, the Hohenzollerns. William I came to the throne in 1861, at the age of sixty-four. Not an original man, the new king was a competent administrator and, like most of his family, devoted to the army. The Berlin government was heavily weighted towards soldiers, and the equivalent of secretary of state was the military strategist von Moltke, the uncle of the general of the First World War. In 1862, however, the government faced serious opposition to its plans for extending conscription from two to four years. It fell in September. The kaiser's new prime minister was Count Otto von Bismarck.

A Brandenburg landlord

Although Bismarck became the greatest diplomatic genius of the century, he was the most human of statesmen. Apart from unifying Germany, he invented his own favourite drink, the black velvet, a mixture of champagne and stout. The most important man in Europe was also a man whose unreasonable greed for pickled herrings made his old age a hell of indigestion. He was born in 1815, into a good Brandenburg junker family. They had always been modest

landowners, with generations of service in the Hohenzollern armies behind them. Bismarck's sophisticated mother was an exception for a Bismarck wife, and her experiments in Berlin salon life had very nearly ruined the family by the time her son Otto came of age.

He was a strange mixture of brilliance and eccentricity. One moment he would be a great hearty giant of a man, the next an obnoxious and moody bore. Athletic and startlingly clever when he chose to work hard, he was proud of being a junker and proud of being a Prussian. As a young man he was known as a madcap, a fearless horseman, and a massive drinker, and yet he worked frantically to set his family's affairs in order and pay off his mother's debts.

There was not the slightest trace of the revolutionary about Bismarck. Like other landowners, his main interest was in preserving the position of his estates, his class, and his country. He opposed emancipation of the Jews, and saw the vicious Prussian game laws as a bastion of society. No doubt it was because of his conservatism that he became a member of the united Prussian Diet in 1847. In the same year he married his gentle Lutheran wife Johanna von Puttkamer.

Bismarck lost no time in earning a reputation as an arch-reactionary. He struggled for counter-revolution in 1848. Bismarck

Above: the sun sets over the shattered Austrian artillery after the Battle of Sadowa. (Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna.)

Above right: Moltke's assistant, General Von der Goltz.

Right: Petter's painting of soldiers flirting with a camp follower at a ramshackle field kitchen. (National-Galerie, East Berlin.)

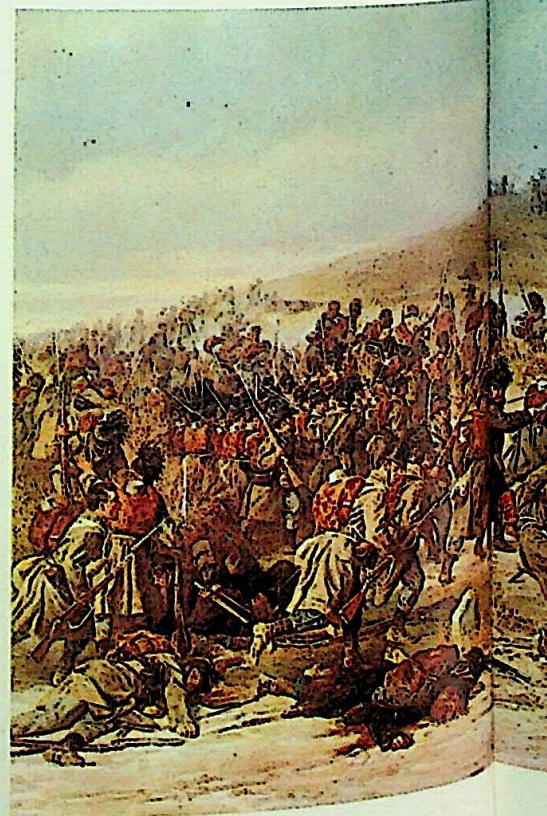
Far right: Bavarian artillery, which fought against Prussia in 1866. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)







Bismarck's first war was against Denmark, over Schleswig-Holstein.
Far right: Prussians in the winter campaign of 1864 against the Danes. (Zeughaus, East Berlin.)
Right: Berlin's Austrian allies in action. (Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna.)
Bismarck next fought the Austrians themselves.
Above right: a stylised view of Sadowa.
Above: Moltke with Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia. (National-Galerie, East Berlin.)





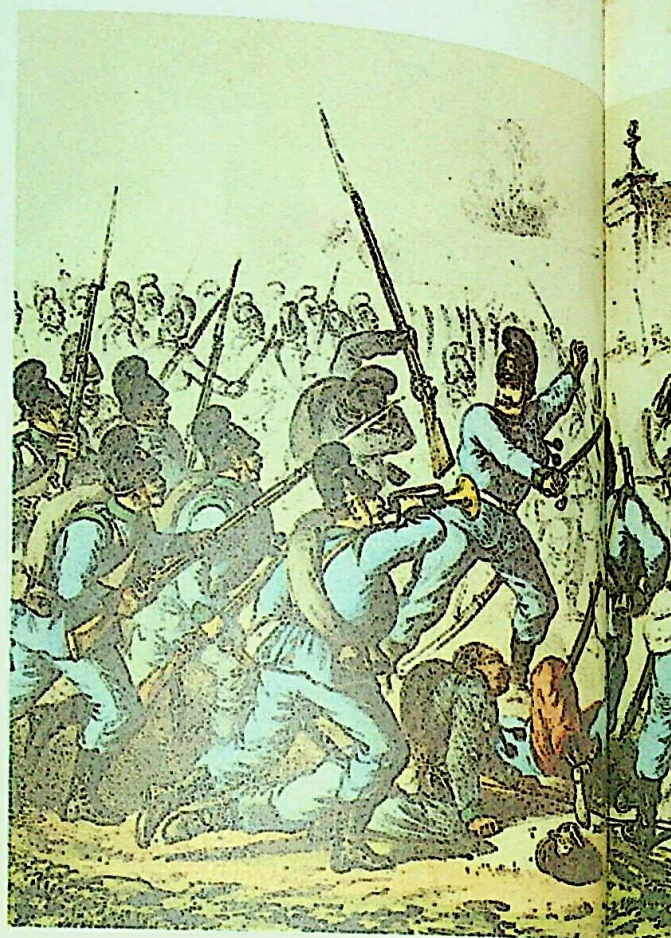
Below: a contemporary illustration of Prussian infantry charging the French line. Bottom: the celebrated painting by Alphonse de Neuville entitled The Last Cartridges. Note the member of the famous North African Zouave division of the French army.

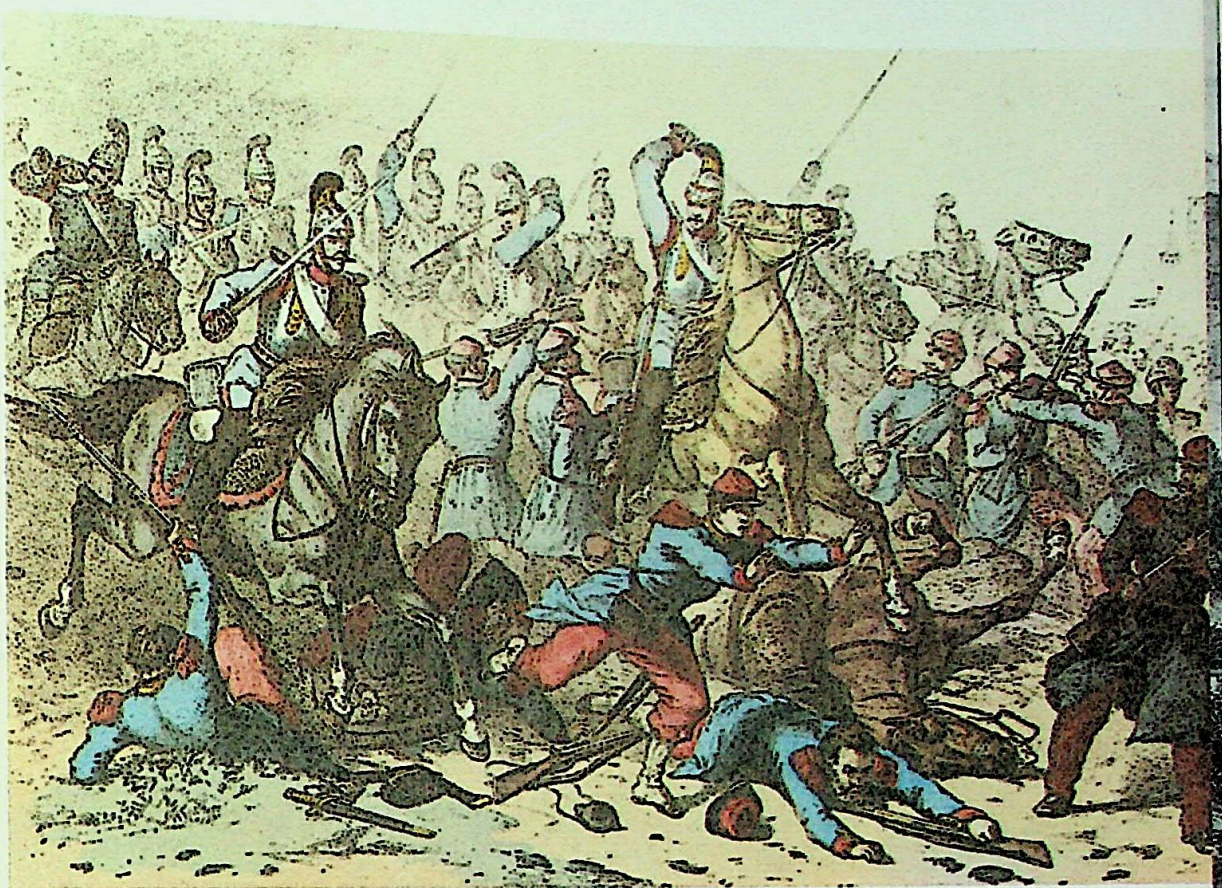
The first stages of the Franco-Prussian War were a triumph of German organisation over the incompetence of the French generals and the minister of war.

Right: Bavarian infantry in the attack on Wissenbourg, 4 August 1870.

Below right: a group of French prisoners at Remilly on 22 August, after the Battle of Metz. Note the Muslims from French North Africa.

Far right: Bavarian cuirassiers or heavy cavalry smash through French infantry lines at Artenay, 10 October. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





had little sense of German nationality. He always thought in terms of Prussia annexing the other German states, rather than in terms of true unification. But he was not foolish about his patriotism. When Austria humiliated Prussia in the Olmütz agreement of 1854, he spoke very sensibly against the hotheads who wanted to march on Vienna forthwith. He shared the feeling that honour was worthless for its own sake with his master Frederick William, and was rewarded well for his loyalty. He was Prussian delegate to the weak Frankfurt Diet, throughout the 'fifties, and then became ambassador successively to St Petersburg and Paris.

The iron chancellor

Later Bismarck made full use of the experience these posts gave him. He realised that Austria was the real obstacle to Prussian supremacy in Germany. He also had an opportunity to work out the way in which Napoleon's dreaminess laid him open to being duped by talk of liberalism and nationalism. He himself was not troubled by platitudes of this sort. A real opportunist, his political life was never hampered by any set of ideals which he had to apply to every situation.

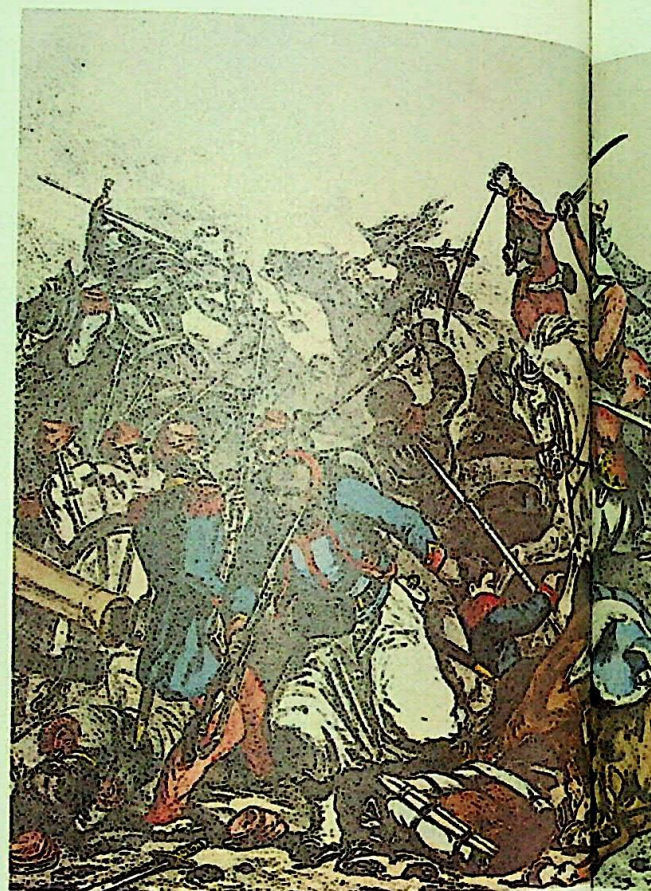
His first concern was his own career, his second the welfare of the Hohenzollerns, and his third the greatness of Prussia. For the sake of all three objectives, he turned his powerful mind towards bringing Germany under the overlordship of Berlin. Unification for him had nothing to do with



Left: hussars (light cavalry) of an unidentified regiment at the walk.
Below: Prussian hussars at the Battle of Wörth.

Right: French sappers hurriedly fortify a position.

Far right below: 'chassepot' bullets being manufactured in a Lyons factory. With Napoleon now deposed, the slogan reads 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



progress or change. He feared and hated both, though he would use their supporters when he could. Because of his flexibility, he was able to dupe those more idealistic than himself, and seize all the opportunities of increasing Prussian power which came his way. This was the whole story of his twenty-six years in office.

Strangely enough, Bismarck hated force. He may have spoken about blood and iron, but he detested the clumsiness of actually using them. Yet he knew that his brilliant diplomacy would only be effective if backed by real military power, and he knew that this military power would eventually have to be used when the impregnable position he wanted for Prussia could not be gained without it.

His real genius appeared not in fighting wars against Denmark, Austria, and France, but in outmanoeuvring those who might have objected to such wars. His first task was to leave Austria without friends outside Germany. He won the regard of Russia

by appearing as the only European statesman willing to help in the tsar's savage repression of the Polish revolt of 1863. After the Convention of Alvensleben, where Bismarck agreed not to give sanctuary to any refugees from Poland, he could rely on Russian friendship. France and Italy were the other two powers which might have been expected to object to Prussia's taking over German leadership from Austria. We have already seen how Napoleon was won over at Biarritz, and La Marmora persuaded to join in the war which led to the disasters of Custoza and Lissa.

Schleswig-Holstein

War with Austria eventually broke out over rival claims to the Danish duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Both belonged to the Danish royal family, but contained substantial German minorities anxious to join the German Confederation. When Christian IX was crowned in Copenhagen in 1864, he



Bottom: a painting by de Neuville of French soldiers in the trenches before Paris in December 1870.



created a European crisis by announcing that he intended to incorporate Schleswig, Germans and all, into Denmark. Austria and Prussia together attacked the Danes on behalf of the German Confederation, and Christian was forced to give up both duchies at the Convention of Gastein. They were temporarily put under joint Austro-Prussian control.

Probably Bismarck had not thought out the implications of this situation. However, when he attempted to discredit Austria by questioning her administration of Schleswig, Vienna accepted the challenge. Francis Joseph had now promised Venetia to the Italians, and thought they would not fight. The past record of the Habsburg army was good, and the southern German princes resented Prussian control of the Zollverein and suspected Bismarck's intrigues. It was Austria, not Prussia, which declared the war which would decide who was to lead Germany.

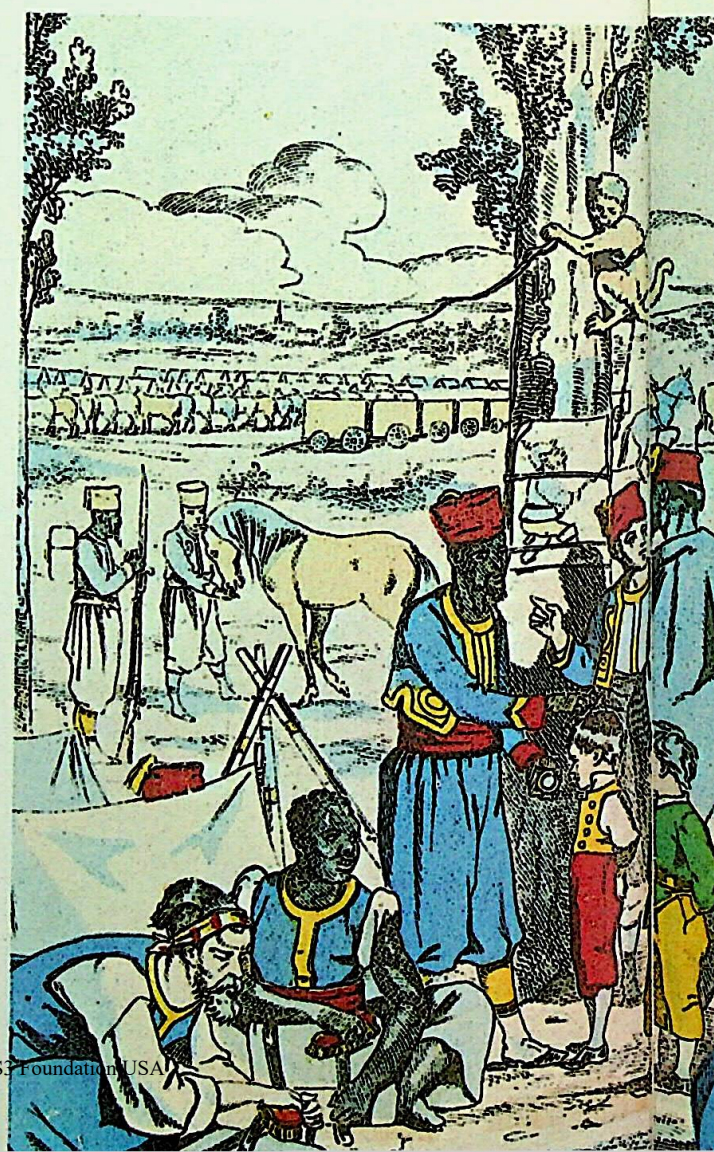
The Seven Weeks War

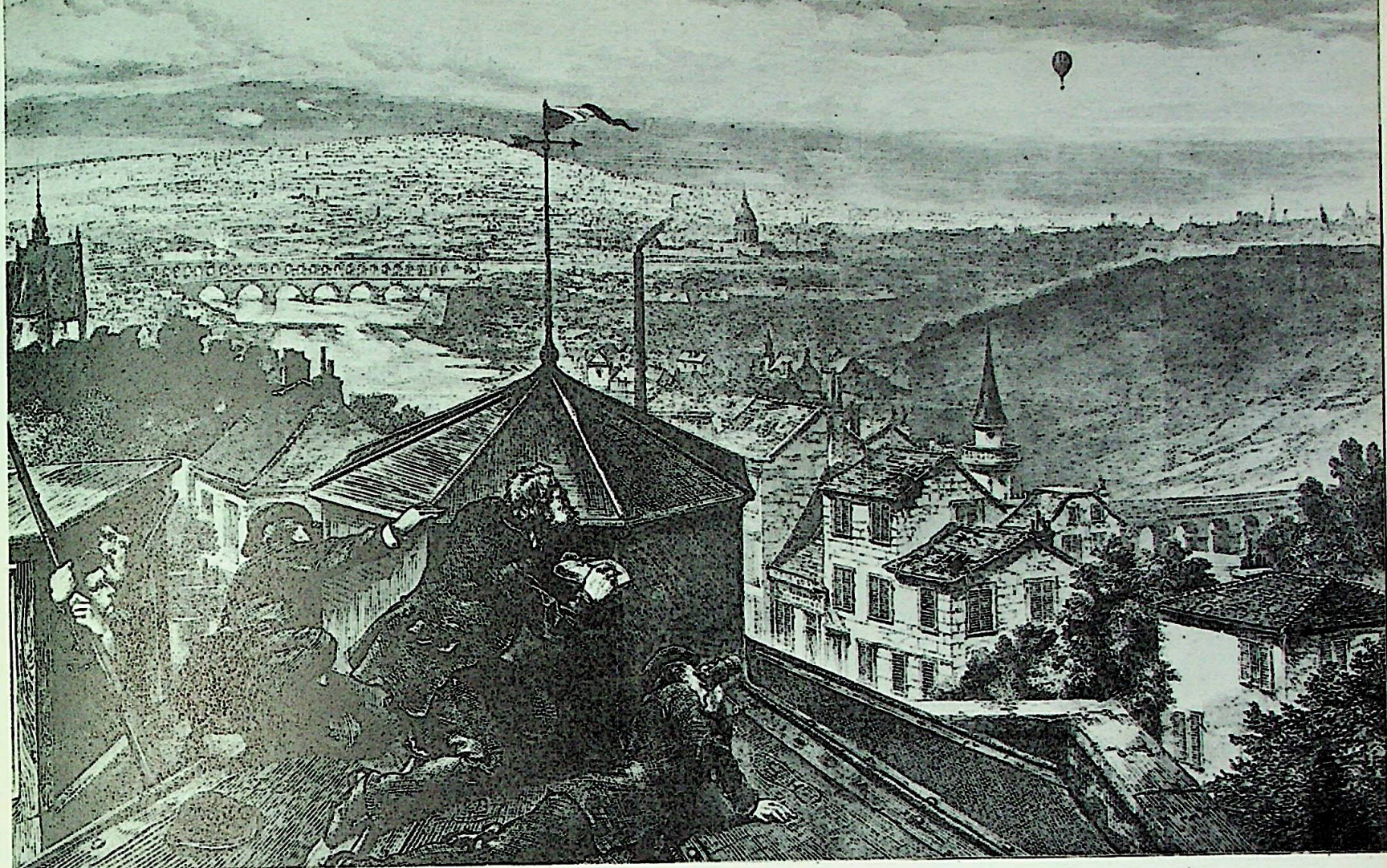
The Austrians had underestimated the brilliance of von Moltke and his army. Prussian discipline was splendid, and Austrian territory was invaded with bewildering speed. The power of the Habsburgs was

smashed once and for all on 3 July 1866, outside the Bohemian town of Sadowa. The news of the Austrian collapse galvanised Europe. Although Napoleon moved troops up to the Rhine, he could not act decisively on behalf of Austria, when he had pledged himself so often to support liberalism and the rights of nationalities. Italy herself was crushed at Custoza, the British admired the Prussians and were unlikely to intervene in far-off Eastern Europe, while Russia had been bought off at Alvensleben. Bismarck was left to make peace in his own way.

In fact the Peace of Prague was most statesmanlike. Bismarck realised that a humiliated Austria would become an even more bitter enemy of future Prussian ambitions. The Habsburgs only lost their stake in the duchies and Venetia, both of which were commitments they could well do without. However, Prussia's gains within Germany were enormous. She absorbed Hanover, once ruled by the kings of England, Schleswig, Holstein, Frankfurt, Nassau, and Hesse. The weak confederation was swept away.

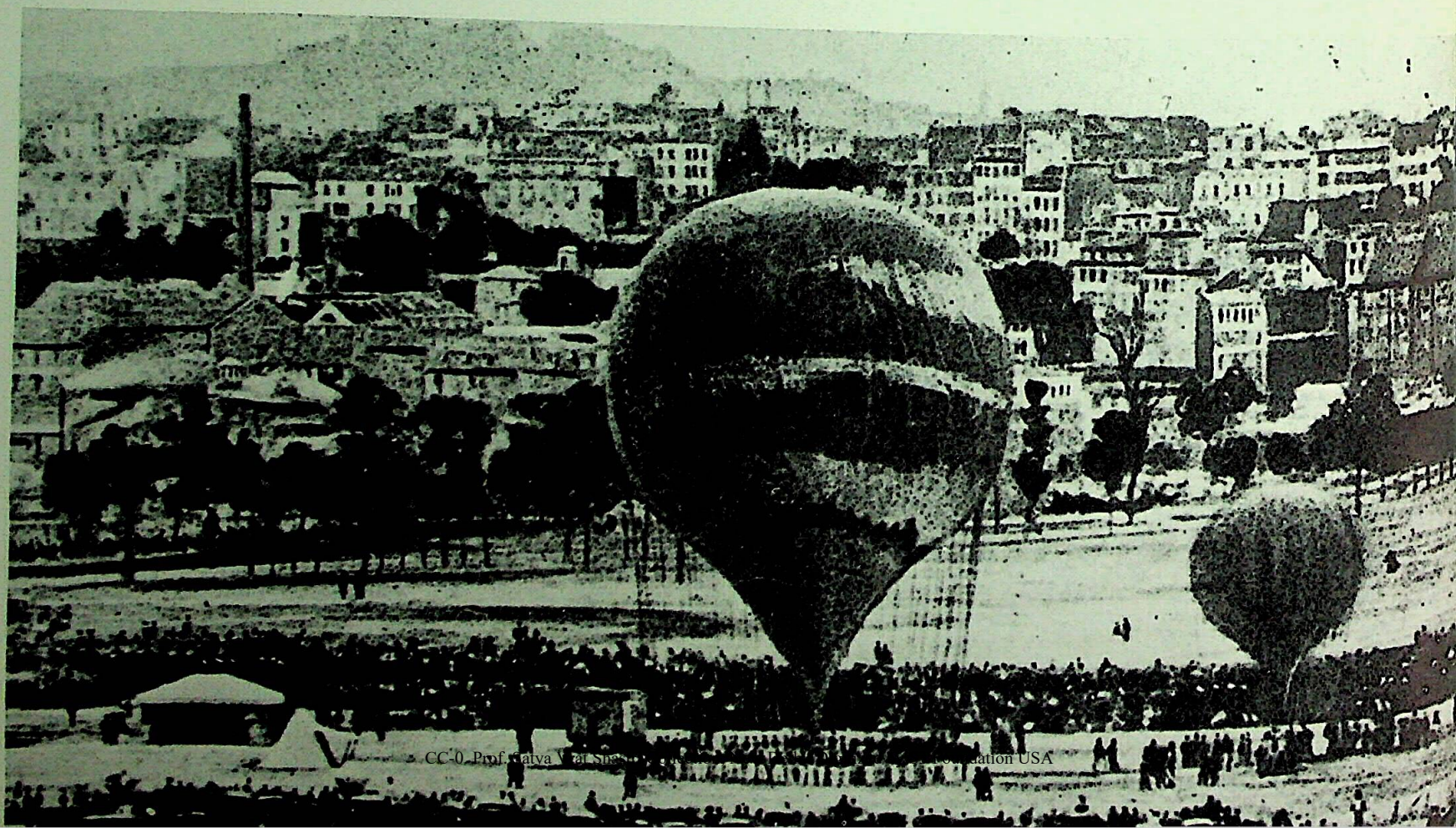
With Austrian power broken, Bismarck was also able to form a North German Confederation, under Frederick William's presidency, including all the states north of the River Main. As president, the King of





Prussia was to appoint a chancellor—Bismarck—and be advised by a council consisting of the rulers of the various states. A central parliament or Reichstag was to be elected by universal suffrage. Economically, this was a great advance over the Zollverein, since control of currency and trade was to rest with the central government. Other aspects of policy, like foreign policy and control of army and navy establishments were centralised, although the sovereign states still dealt with internal affairs. Apart from the confederation, twenty-five million Germans were now ruled directly from Berlin.

Above: French lookouts survey the Prussian army encamped on the outskirts of Paris. Bazaine, caricatured (above left) would have been happier to see Prussians than republicans in Paris. The noose round his neck carries a Prussian decoration. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) Far left: a wan Napoleon leaves Sedan after the French surrender. Bismarck canters beside his carriage. (National-Galerie, East Berlin.) Left: French North African cavalry relax at a bivouac in Alsace. (Kunstbibliothek, West Berlin.)



The French response

Napoleon III, as he gazed across the Rhine and across the Main to Berlin, was alarmed by what he saw. His efforts to construct a nationalist Europe had simply set the Hohenzollerns in place of the Habsburgs as a threat to French security. His response was a written demand for territory to compensate France for Prussian gains. Bismarck (in private) contemptuously dismissed the note as an 'innkeeper's bill', and sat back to let the unhappy Napoleon make a fool of himself in the eyes of Europe. Although he at first did this with the simple intention of weakening French prestige as much as possible, he delightedly saw Napoleon's blunders push the south German states into alignment with Prussia.

First Napoleon asked successively for the Rhineland and part of Belgium, but was assured their cession was politically impossible. Finally he lowered his sights to trying to buy Luxembourg from the king of Holland. The grand duke at once appealed to the North German Confederation, and Prussian detachments were moved in to support him. Bismarck took good care to make Napoleon's floundering public, and the German states became united in hostility to France. The most which was conceded was a guarantee of Luxembourg's neutrality and the withdrawal of Prussian troops.

In his old age Bismarck recorded that he avoided a war at this time because, although he had decided that a conflict with France would be essential to unification, he wished to give his military reforms time to make the Prussian army unbeatable. But it is not likely that he thought of war or even unification until 1870. By then Napoleon's extraordinary bungles had left all the German princes clamouring for Prussia to lead them to battle. Bismarck then seized the opportunity of destroying the French threat on the Rhine, annexing the border states for his master the king of Prussia, and thus 'unifying Germany'.

To do him justice, Bismarck did ensure that the Prussian army became the most efficient fighting machine in Europe. Arms were poured into Berlin's new dependencies, and the increasingly friendly states of southern Germany. The French were much worse off. Recruitment had dropped, while conscription did not affect the rich and faced serious public opposition. Plans for mobilisation were antiquated and ineffective. It was probably because they knew this that the general staff put so much pressure on Napoleon to guarantee the Rhine frontier against Prussian expansion. Indeed they were frightened and second rate men compared with Bismarck's purposeful generals. Occasional reforming officers like Marshal Niel, who tried to reorganise the weak National Guard while war minister, ran up against solid opposition in the purblind Corps Législatif.

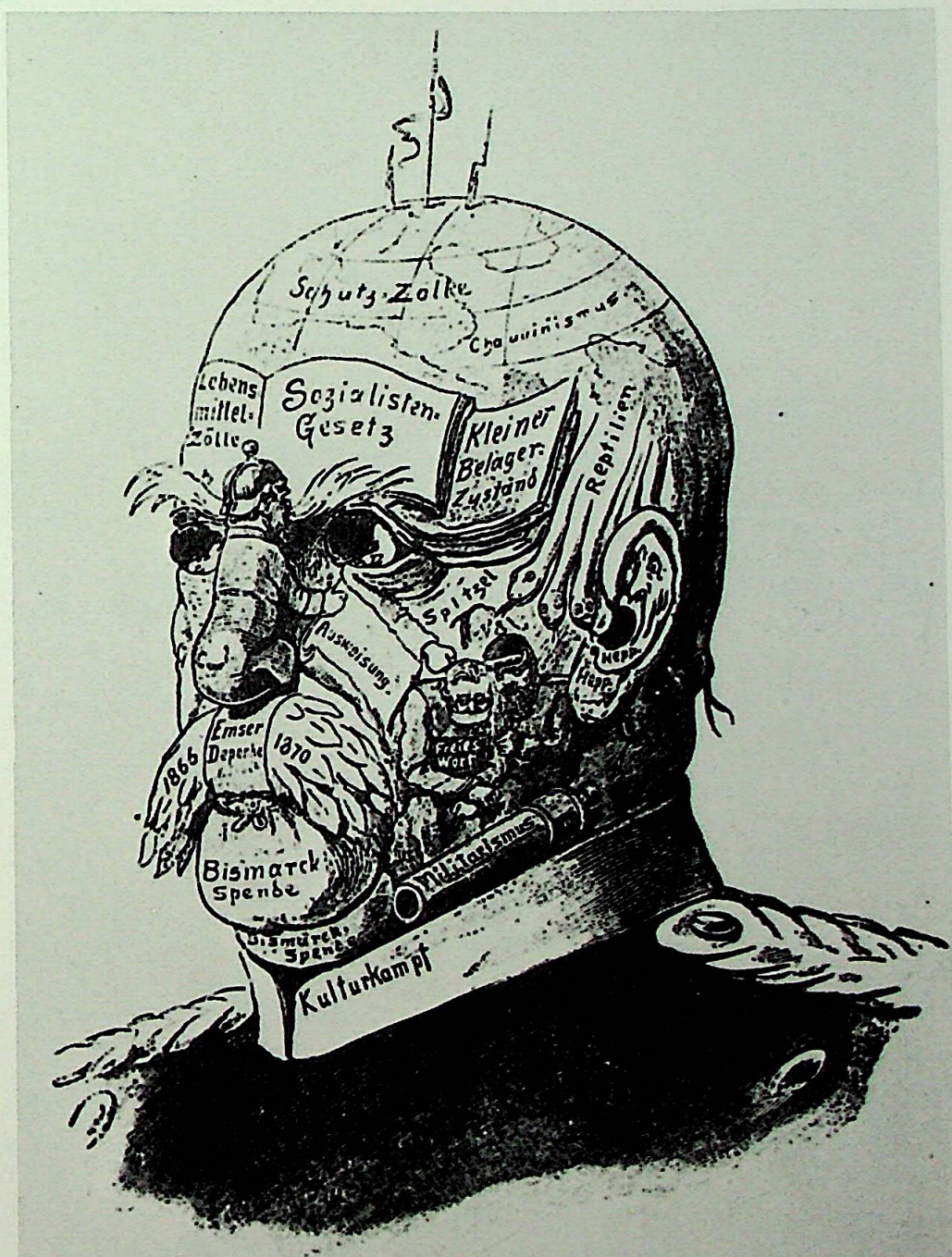
The Ems telegram

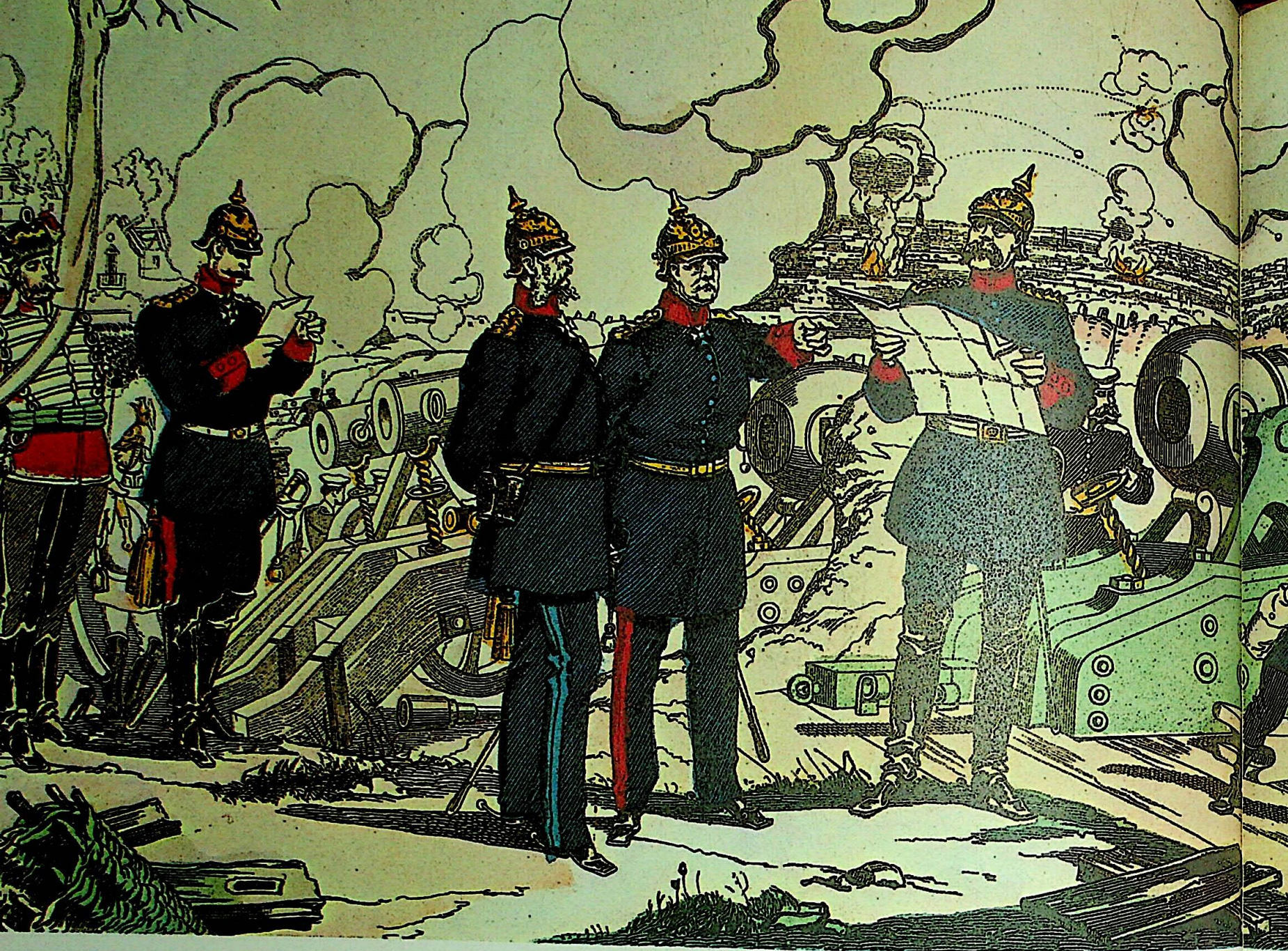
The pressures on Napoleon to bluster against Prussia were increased by the unstable nature of French politics. The empire was under heavy attack from the republicans, and in May 1870, granted a new constitution. Control of affairs had really passed out of Napoleon's hands. He is something of a tragic figure in these last months of his régime, ill, muddled, and scared. All his advisers misjudged the real power of Prussia. The empress Eugénie, the new prime minister, Emile Ollivier, the foreign minister, the Duke of Gramont, all gave the wrong advice to a man who was incapable of making up his mind for

Above left: the evacuation of Paris in January 1871. The Arc de Triomphe is sand-bagged for protection against Prussian bombardment.

Below left: a contemporary photograph of balloons leaving the besieged city in 1871. Balloons were the only link that the Parisians had with the rest of France.

Below: a contemporary caricature of Bismarck showing all his 'achievements'. These are supposed to include jingoism, suppression of all opposition, martial law, censorship, deportations, the use of informers, aggression, faked diplomatic documents, militarism and attacks on religion.





himself. The Second Empire faced its last crisis without decisive leadership.

The French response to the 'Hohenzollern Candidacy' for the throne of Spain gave Bismarck the chance to fight a war on exactly the terms he wanted. After the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1868 sent the Bourbons into exile from Madrid, the liberals led by General Juan Pim y Pratts began what the Spanish press called a 'lottery of kings'. The kaiser's cousin Leopold von Hohenzollern announced he would become a candidate in June 1870. Gramont, for once with the support of all parties, announced belligerently that France would consider foreign control of the Spanish crown a threat to her security.

However, the kaiser, who had always been opposed to harrying the French through Madrid, eventually persuaded Leopold to withdraw. Matters would have ended there, if Napoleon's final stroke of folly had not given Bismarck the opportunity he wanted. The kaiser was on holiday in the Rhineland resort of Ems when Benedetti, the French ambassador, brought him a demand from

Paris that Prussia should humiliate herself by refusing to renew the candidacy. He replied politely that he approved of the withdrawal and had nothing to add to it.

Bismarck had never dreamt the French would play into his hands in this way. He at once published an edited version of kaiser Wilhelm's telegram telling him of Benedetti's demands. The 'Ems telegram' brought the countries to the brink of war. Its text gave the impression that the ambassador and the kaiser had exchanged mutual insults, in an interview which closed with Benedetti being refused a further audience.

Ollivier at once moved towards war, which he announced he could now wage lightheartedly (*d'un coeur léger*). France declared war against Prussia on 19 July. Not even the wildest optimist in Germany could have expected France to take on this responsibility. She had no allies while the Prussians had no enemies. Even Alexander II had been friendly with the Hohenzollerns since the kaiser entertained him at Ems in May.

Sedan

The Franco-Prussian War surprised Europe not by being so short but by not being even shorter. Although Leboeuf, the French War Minister, reassured doubters by claiming that his preparations were complete down to the last gaiter-button, more important aspects of planning had unfortunately been neglected. The first French troops at the front were outnumbered two to one. The famous French *chassepot* was as good as the German rifles, but unfortunately Leboeuf had not ensured that all his men had one. The German artillery was immensely superior. Worst of all, the French General Staff had no member who could match the brilliance of von Moltke.

His first army pushed a French army led by Macmahon, the hero of the war of 1859, out of Alsace, which was left to the enemy. A second army under von Moltke's personal leadership advanced towards the great fortress at Metz, routing five army corps under General Bazaine. They re-formed in Metz itself, and the Germans surrounded

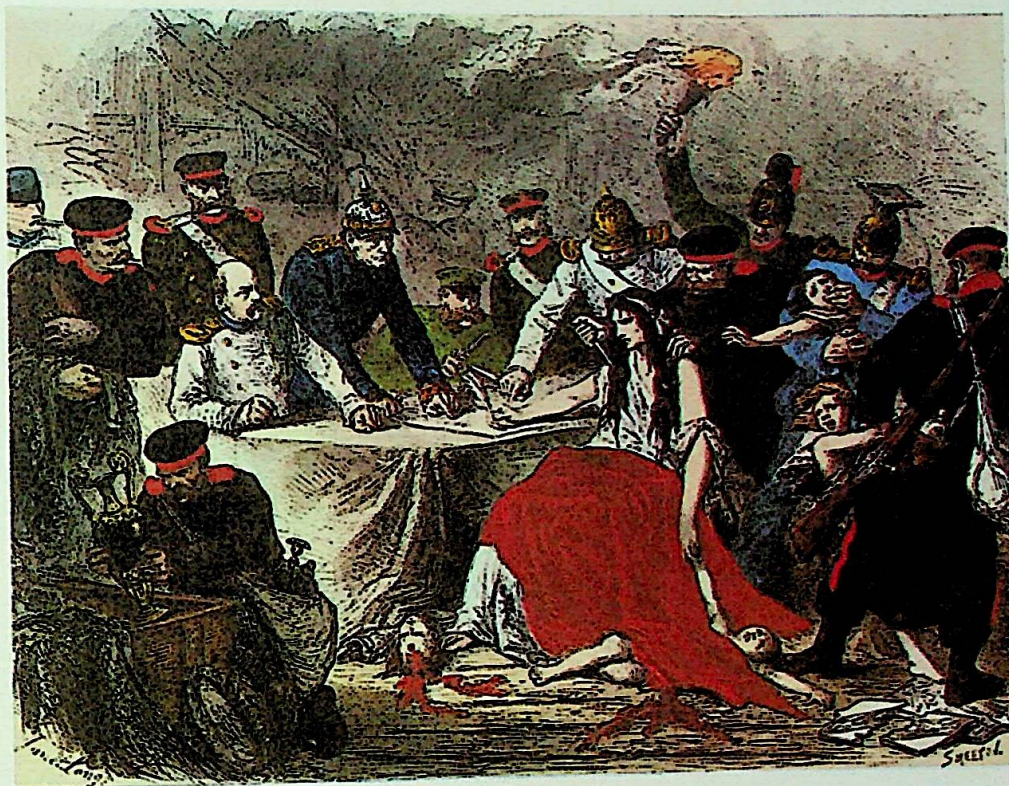


With Paris under siege, the French gained some encouragement from their heroic northern campaign.

Bottom: they take prisoners at Bapaume in Artois. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

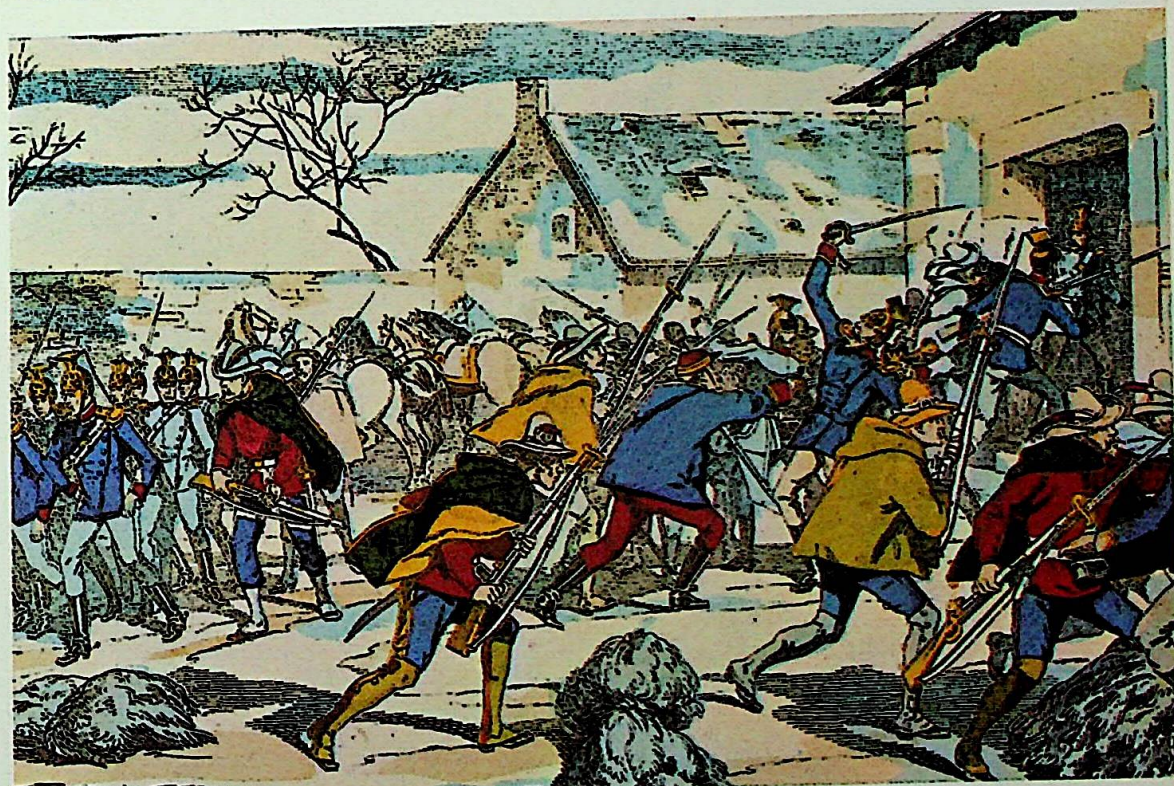
Left: the bombardment of Paris. Note the breech-loading field gun. (Kunstbibliothek, West Berlin.)

Below: a grisly cartoon shows a prostrated France capitulating to Prussian brigands. Bismarck and his master lean on the table. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



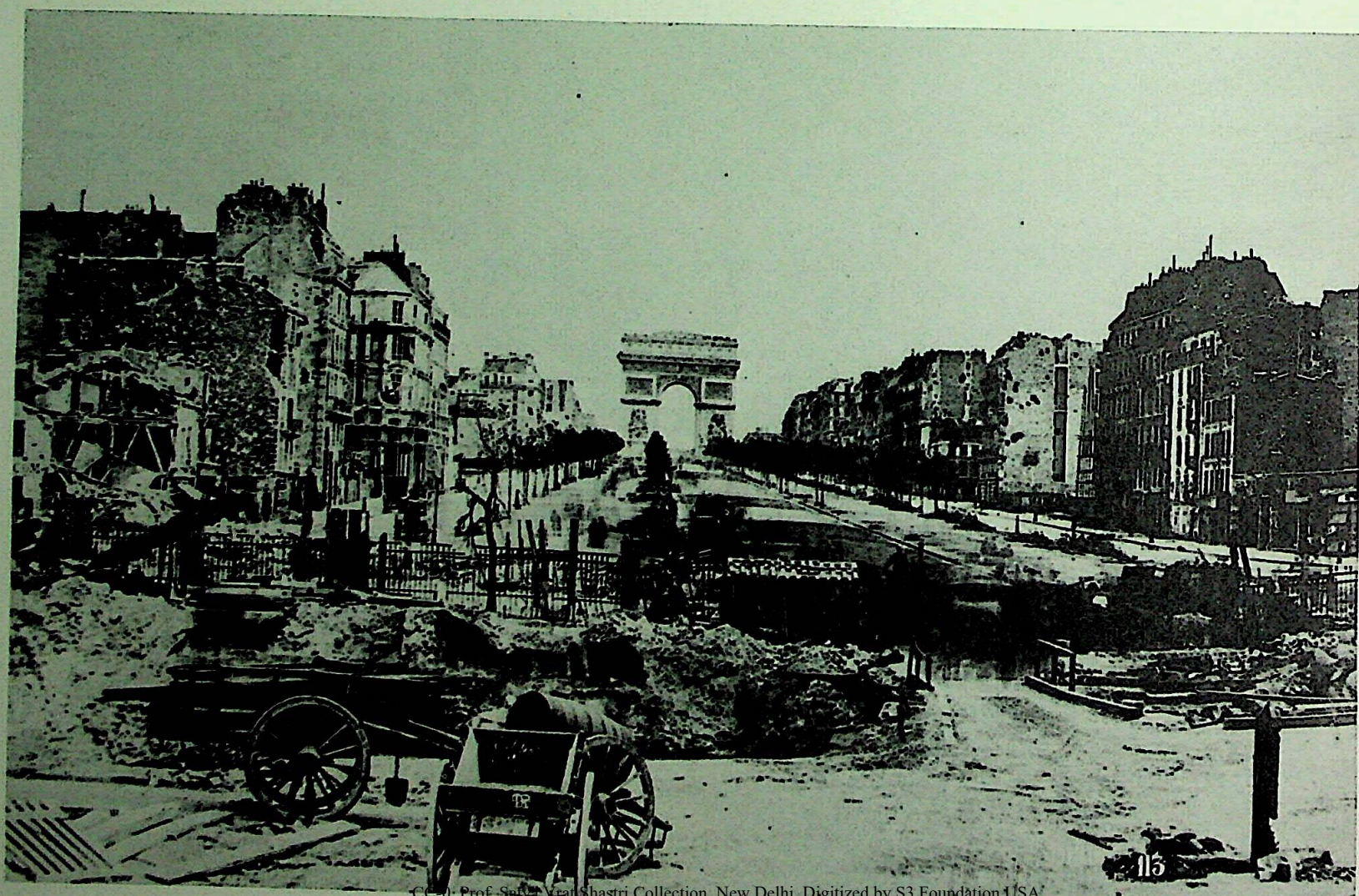
the city. Thanks to Bazaine's halfheartedness—or treachery—this French army of 173,000 remained out of action until the end of the war.

However, Macmahon had redeployed round Châlons, and might have presented the Prussians with a serious threat if the dithering Napoleon had not arrived at the front to direct the French defence. He ordered Macmahon to try to relieve Metz, the very plan which was easiest for the Germans to counter. The rescuing forces were themselves surrounded by the Germans at Sedan, on the Meuse. After two attempts to break through the German ring, Napoleon offered to surrender on 2 September. The emperor became a German prisoner, and Moltke and the kaiser marched unopposed towards Paris. By the 19th, they had placed the capital under siege. It appeared that the war was very nearly over.



The Third Republic

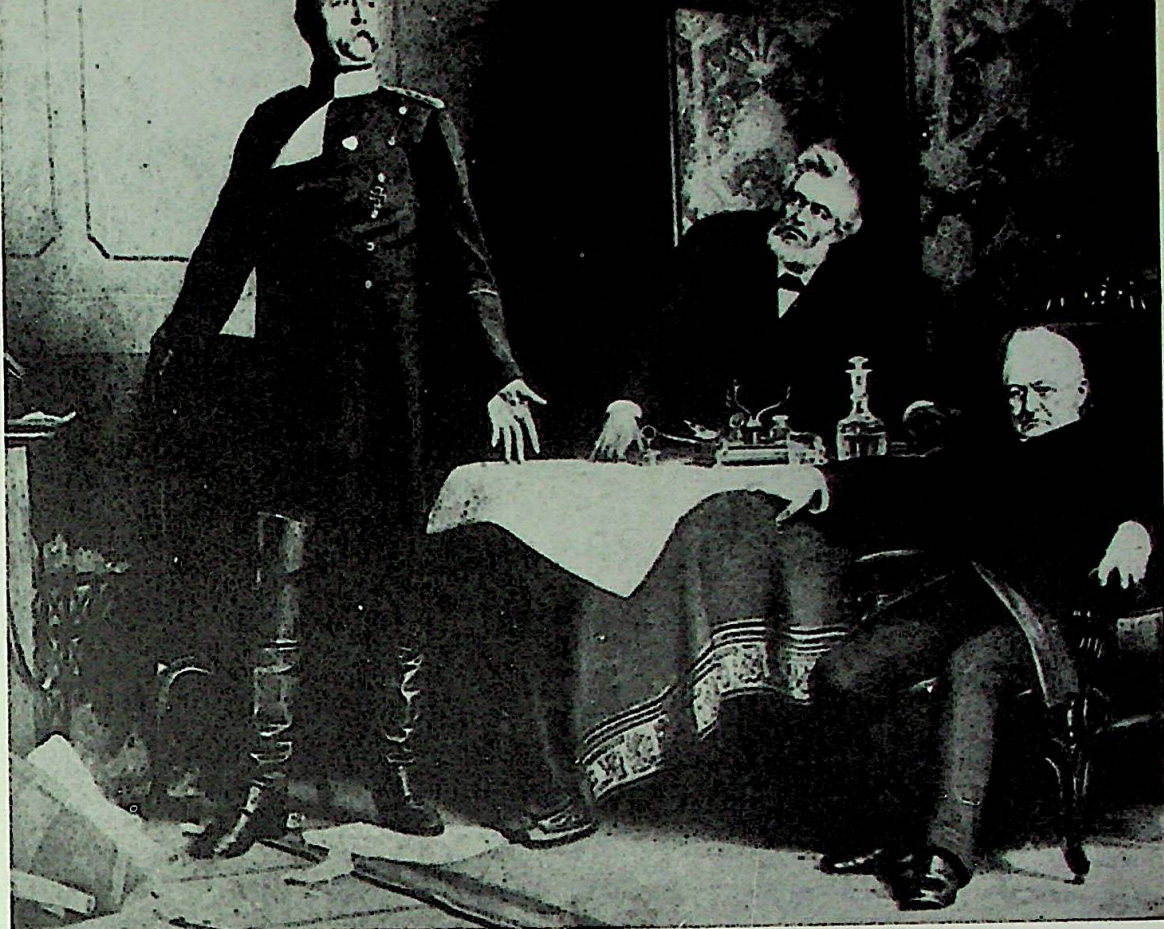
In fact France had not yet been defeated, although the fall of the empire had become



Above left: a photograph of the Prussian army at Fort Issy in outer Paris in February 1871.

Below left: after terrible bombardment by the Prussians, this was how a photographer saw Paris from the Porte Maillot in the last week of May 1871.

Right: a painting of Bismarck dictating terms of peace to the leaders of the French government, Thiers and Favre, at Versailles, February 1871.



inevitable. The Third Republic was proclaimed in Paris the day that news of the surrender at Sedan arrived. After tentative attempts to open negotiations with Bismarck, the provisional government's Minister of the interior, Leon Gambetta, set about placing France on a footing of all-out national warfare.

On 7 October he himself left Paris by balloon, to sail across the German lines and rally support in the provinces. He and the Bonapartist d'Aurelle de Paladines formed a new army on the Loire, and succeeded in regaining Orléans. General Faidherbe meanwhile checked the rather surprised Germans in the north.

Although Gambetta never managed to lift the siege of Paris, and Bazaine remained ineffectively cooped up in Metz, France's temporary recovery was startling. It could not last. The two sections of Gambetta's Loire army were defeated at Loigny and Le Mans, and the heroic Faidherbe at St Quentin. In Paris itself, the Germans did not bother to waste men in a frontal attack, but simply sat down and waited for surrender. In the end the poorest Parisians genuinely faced starvation, while even the most fashionable restaurants were reduced to feeding their patrons on the inmates of the Tuileries Zoo. Paris could not have lasted much longer even if Bismarck had not ordered a bombardment which claimed 400 civilian casualties.

On 23 January 1871, Jules Favre, the Republican foreign minister, began to negotiate an armistice. When a new National Assembly was called, it declared overwhelmingly for peace, and appointed the veteran statesman Adolphe Thiers as its

plenipotentiary or 'Chief of the Executive Power' in negotiating with Germany. Meanwhile, Paris itself was on the verge of revolting to form the 'Commune'. In March radical rebels, some of them socialists, seized the city. Late in May Macmahon, himself a thinly disguised royalist, reconquered it block by block against bitter resistance. Indeed the Third Republic's first task at home was the bloody suppression of the 'communards' in its own capital.

The Peace of Frankfurt

Since unification of Germany had suddenly become a practical possibility, Bismarck had to make peace on the terms which would make that unification as smooth as possible. Anxious to appear as the protector of the southern German states, he could easily argue from Napoleon's erratic behaviour that Germany's neighbour was violent, greedy, and irresponsible. Germany thus had to gain a frontier which would make French attack impossible (or, alternatively, make a German attack on France easy). It was for this reason that Bismarck demanded that the peace of Germany should be guaranteed by giving her the key area on the left bank of the Rhine round the fortresses of Strasbourg and Metz. He argued that in German hands these would be used defensively, as a guarantee of peace. He warned Prussian diplomatic officials, somewhat unconvincingly, that 'In twenty wars we have never been the aggressors against France, and we claim nothing from her but the security she has so often threatened'. The beauty of this standpoint was that its appeal to the south German states made the

prospect of unification under Prussia a reality.

When the final peace settlement was signed at Frankfurt in May, Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to Germany, and it was agreed that German troops were to remain in eastern France until an enormous indemnity of 5,000 million francs was paid. The disgrace of these losses was keenly felt in France. The Mayor of Strasbourg died of shock on hearing the news of the peace. Although the people of Alsace-Lorraine were given the option of taking French citizenship, relatively few did so. Far more became settlers in Napoleon's great colony, Algeria. Later the *colons* became the most French of French exiles. Although Alsace and Lorraine were duly absorbed into the Second Reich, Bismarck's mistake was not to see that this ultimate humiliation would produce a France unlikely to rest until it had reversed the Peace of Frankfurt. This was one reason why the Europe he constructed slid so easily into the First World War.

The Second Reich

The new German Empire was not very liberal and not very nationalistic. Even in the Catholic south, German life was standardised on a Prussian model, not a true German one. Although a constitution was granted, power remained where it had always been in Prussia, with the small class of junkers under the Hohenzollerns, themselves the principal junker family. But Bismarck had taken his chances, and made Prussia the greatest power on the continent. The German princes were united under the



Left: the kaiser in the 'Galerie des Glaces' of Versailles. The German Empire was reborn amid the splendour created by Louis XIV. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Hohenzollerns on Hohenzollern terms because of the enormous success of the Peace of Frankfurt. It was no accident that the Second Reich was proclaimed on 18 January 1871, in the 'Galerie des Glaces' of the Palace of Versailles, at a point when it was clear that France would give all the concessions necessary to win over the German princes to Prussia.

Even so, the organisation of the empire in the preceding months had perhaps been Bismarck's most difficult task. He himself had probably wished to avoid a union with the decadent popish south when the war broke out, and although his own ideas changed during the autumn, by no means all German rulers wished to bind themselves to Prussia. Several princelings, particularly the more powerful rulers of Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria, proved stubborn over surrendering their privileges. Louis II of Bavaria was only won over by being allowed to retain control over his army, post office, and railways. He also gained a secret pension of £20,000 per year (taken from the revenues of the exiled king of Hanover) and a promise that the Bavarian brewing industry

would be protected by a reduced duty.

The greatest problem of all was to win over the kaiser. He was unimpressed by the new-fangled idea of becoming Emperor of Germany. His interests were Prussian and not German, and unlike Bismarck he saw no reason for disguising Prussian greatness with the fiction of a nationalist empire. He distrusted popular power, and was only converted when Bismarck managed to persuade Louis of Bavaria to write to him on behalf of the princes of Germany begging him to accept the crown. Even at the ceremony in the Galerie des Glaces he shook hands with all the dignitaries present except Bismarck. The chancellor had had him proclaimed as 'Emperor William' instead of 'Emperor of Germany', a subtle difference which avoided the implication of true kingly power over Germany.

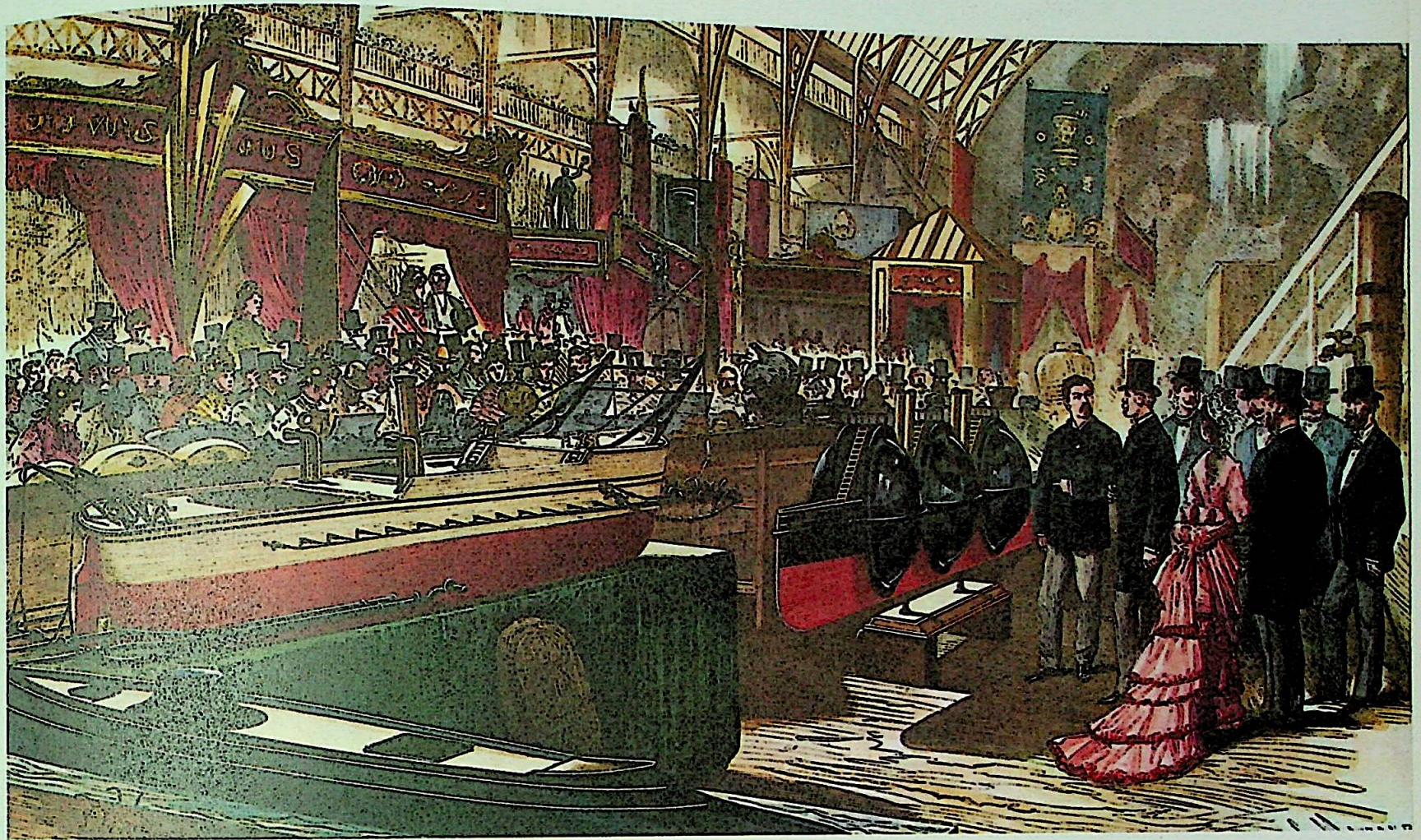
The balance sheet

Ten years before, no one had dreamt that Piedmont would unite Italy, or that Prussia would unite Germany. Neither Bismarck nor Cavour had been an exception. Their

early aims had been limited, but had expanded as the weaknesses or blunders of other powers gave them opportunities to increase their strength, which they faultlessly seized. The result was the emergence of the united countries German and Italian liberals wanted, although they were ruled respectively by soldiers and businessmen rather than intellectuals.

For Europe as a whole, the result of the rise of Germany and Italy was revolutionary. Unfortunately Bismarck's successors failed to see that he had used force in 1870 as an adjunct to his diplomacy. Since they still possessed the world's finest fighting organisation, they fell back on using it to gain whatever they wanted. This was the more dangerous since France also looked forward to the war of revenge which would give her back Alsace-Lorraine. The result was the war of 1914.

Although greatly different, both Germany and Italy gave new opportunities to industry and to the rising middle classes. The businesses which profited from the large new national markets mass-produced more and more new inventions. Many of their products were later sold in the widening markets of Asia and Africa. Partly for this reason, partly because of the desire for prestige connected with very new nationhood, Germany eventually began the 'scramble for Africa'. Italy also came to play a part in annexing territory overseas. At the same time, the expansion of the working class at home produced new social theories which brought the industrial states to the verge of revolution.



The modernisation of Europe

Nineteenth-century Europe is revolutionised by man's new discoveries and achievements; industrial progress results in a new working class; the workers organise themselves as a defence against the evils of capitalism; the Catholic Church attempts to compete with socialism.

Europe changed dramatically in the later nineteenth century. Nationalism upset the traditional relations between its states, and imperialism eventually extended its rule throughout the world. Neither, however, had effects as far-reaching as developments in industrial and intellectual life. As industrialisation speeded up, in old and new nations alike, business units increased in size. Europe moved into the age of trusts, cartels, and monopoly capitalism. Its need for machinery also gave an immense stimulus to inventiveness. The scientific and technological revolutions had even more startling results than the industrial one.

By 1900, modern medicine, electrical power, and even the petrol engine, were accepted as part of European daily life. But at the same time as scientists were meeting the needs of the business world, it was creating new forces which would challenge

it. Industry required labour, and as its workers were gathered together in Europe's growing cities, they began to consider new theories of society which rejected the capitalist system which employed them. Karl Marx is as much a figure of the nineteenth century as Count Cavour.

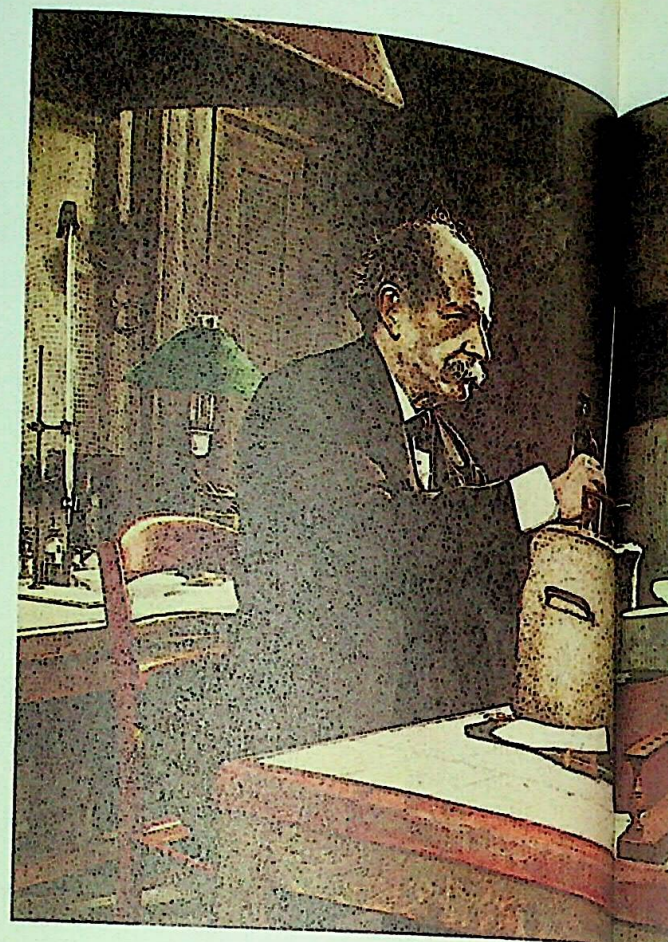
Recruits for science

Sir Lewis Namier, one of the greatest historians of our century, has called 1848 the year of the revolution of the intellectuals. These intellectuals were defeated by monarchists throughout Europe. The result was profound disillusionment with the hope of changing the social and political structure from within. It now seemed more realistic to abandon piecemeal reform. There was an increase in the numbers of socialists, who planned to substitute the rule of the com-

munity for the rule of kings and capitalists alike.

The most advanced of them, Karl Marx, tried to apply the laws of science to his interpretation of society. His *Communist Manifesto* was actually issued during the 1848 revolutions, and thereafter rapidly made converts. Marx's prophecy that proletarian revolution would erupt throughout the world still remains to be fulfilled, but his theories of class structure have deeply affected all the modern 'social sciences'. Some disillusioned intellectuals went even further than Marx, and abandoned the study of society and its ills completely. Some even joined the ranks of the great scientists

Above: Macmahon, the president of France, visits a Paris shipping exhibition in 1875. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



and inventors of the nineteenth century. Their discoveries made changes in the life of the West—and the world—which had never been dreamt of by the men of 1848.

The physical sciences

By the nineteenth century, most elements known to modern science had been discovered. The next task was to classify them. In 1869 this was done by the Russian researcher Dmitri Ivanovich Mendeleev. He was of Siberian birth, the fourteenth son of a schoolteacher, and rose to be professor of chemistry at the University of St Petersburg. It was already known that matter was composed of atoms grouped into molecules of different formations, in turn linked in varying ways. Mendeleev grouped the elements according to their atomic weights, ranging from the lightest (hydrogen) to the heaviest (mercury). This classification provided the groundwork for modern chemistry, and may have been the most important work by a nineteenth-century scientist.

Equally significant progress was soon made by physicists. The whole field of astrophysics had been opened by the research of two German scientists, Kirchhoff and Bunsen. In their research on the physical properties of light, they developed the technique of spectrum analysis, which in turn was applied to chemistry. This not only made it possible to locate elements like rubidium, but also led to the discovery of helium in the matter composing the sun before it had been isolated on earth.

In 1850, another German, Rudolf Clausius, who became Professor of Chemistry at Berlin at the age of twenty-eight, demonstrated the connection between heat and energy. His findings were supported by William Thomson, Lord Kelvin, the foremost British scientist of the age. In 1861–2, another Scot, James Maxwell, Professor of Physics at Aberdeen and later London, postulated the electromagnetic nature of light. Twenty years later the existence of the electromagnetic waves of which he had written was experimentally proven, and the discovery was eventually applied to radio transmission. Meanwhile, modern organic chemistry had been founded by the research of the French scientist Jean Baptiste Dumas on the chemistry of alcohols. The next step would be to apply all these advances to use in industry.

Biology and medicine

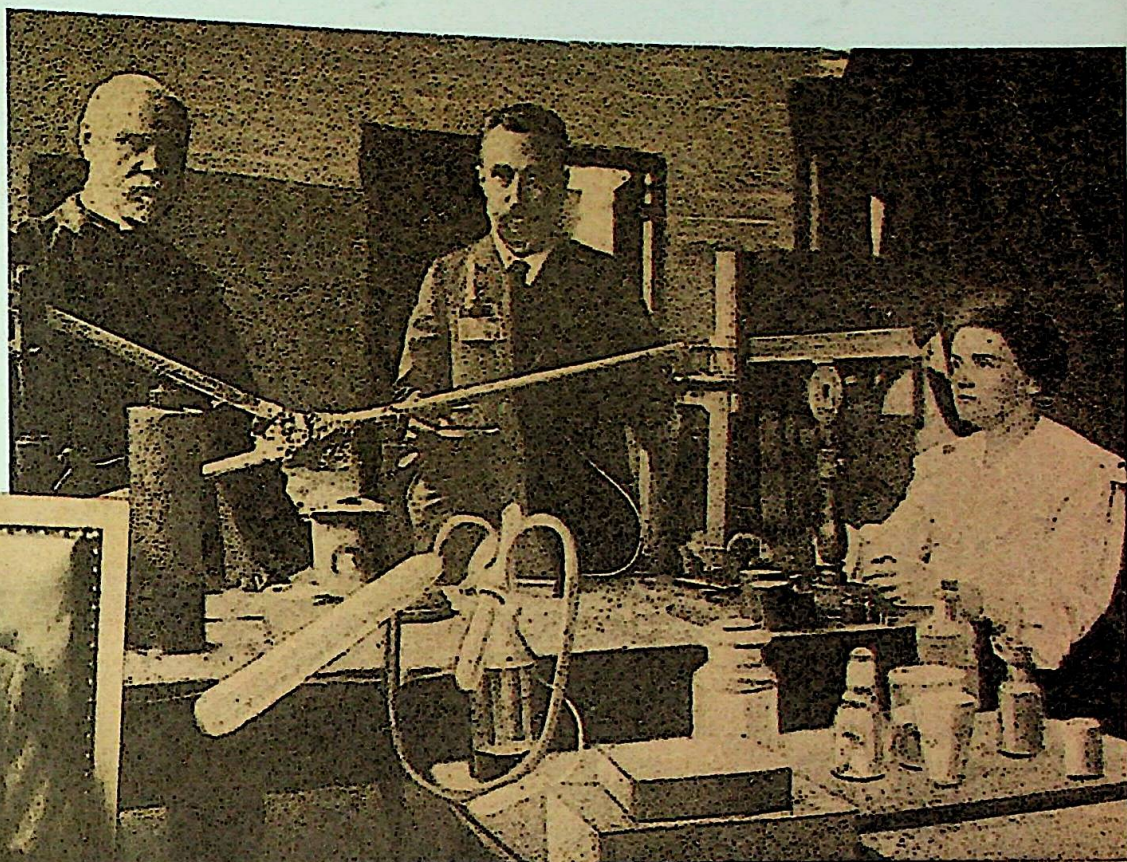
The nineteenth century also saw advances in biology and medicine, as both were taken into the laboratory. The theories of Claude Bernard first suggested that the body represented a complete and interdependent mechanism, to which experimentation could be applied as successfully as in any other branch of science. There is an amusing description of the way in which the men who groped towards this standpoint in the earlier part of the century were misunderstood in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*.

Louis Pasteur (1822–95) was perhaps the most influential of all. He used his training as

a chemist and his skill with the microscope to solve practical problems for vintners, brewers, and dairymen. Examining spoiled wine under the microscope, he found living organisms in addition to the yeasts which produced fermentation. He concluded that these 'bacteria' caused decay, and also spread infection in animals and humans. He was able to develop the process of 'pasteurisation', in which heating of liquids for a prolonged period destroyed the infection-carrying bacteria they contained. He also found that the risk of infection among domestic animals could be reduced by inoculating them with weak strains of bacteria to make them immune to future diseases.

It was a short step onwards from his discoveries to develop antibiotics to fight the micro-organisms which cause human diseases like tuberculosis. Joseph Lister, Professor of Surgery at Glasgow and later Edinburgh, applied these theories to surgery. At King's College, London, he was able to reduce fatalities during operations through the use of antiseptics. Pasteur's work had begun a medical revolution.

Against the background of these discoveries, Charles Darwin was working on the most controversial of all theories of biology—the theory of evolution. His *Origin of Species* was published in 1859, after long years of research he had begun in 1831 on a round-the-world voyage as naturalist on the survey ship H.M.S. *Beagle*. Although he worked from the classification of species carried out by the great eighteenth-century



Far left: the physiologist, Claude Bernard, gives a tutorial.

Centre left: Pierre Berthelot, the pioneer organic chemist who worked on the combination of acids and alcohols.

Above: Pierre and Marie Curie.

Left: Louis Pasteur. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



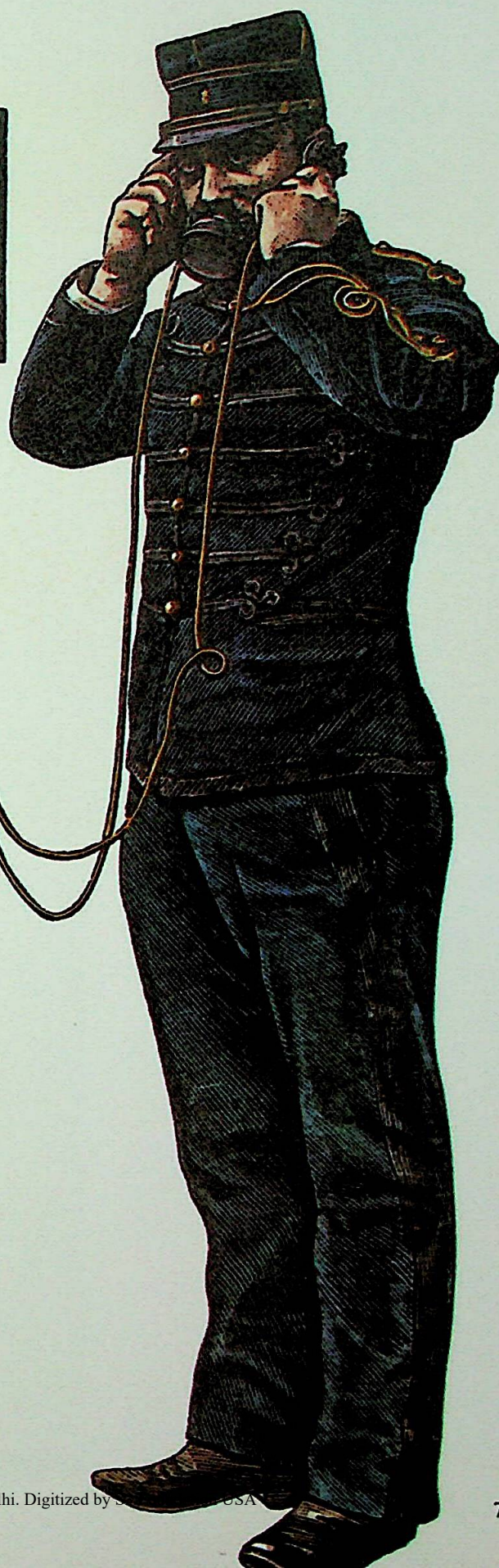
Swedish naturalist Linnaeus, he rejected his assumption that the species were immutable and had been created in their current form. Darwin argued that life had begun at the lowest possible level, and that only those species which had come to terms with their environment had survived. This constituted his law of survival of the fittest, which governed the selection process by which humanity had emerged as the highest form of existence. In turn, not all humans would survive. Influenced by the gloomy theories of Thomas Malthus, Darwin was obsessed by the thought that as population outstripped world resources, only the fittest would manage to survive. But it was not a pleasant thought to be descended from an ape, or something worse. Darwin was ostracised. Churchmen throughout the world were horrified, and wrote learned treatises to defend the biblical account of the seven-day creation.

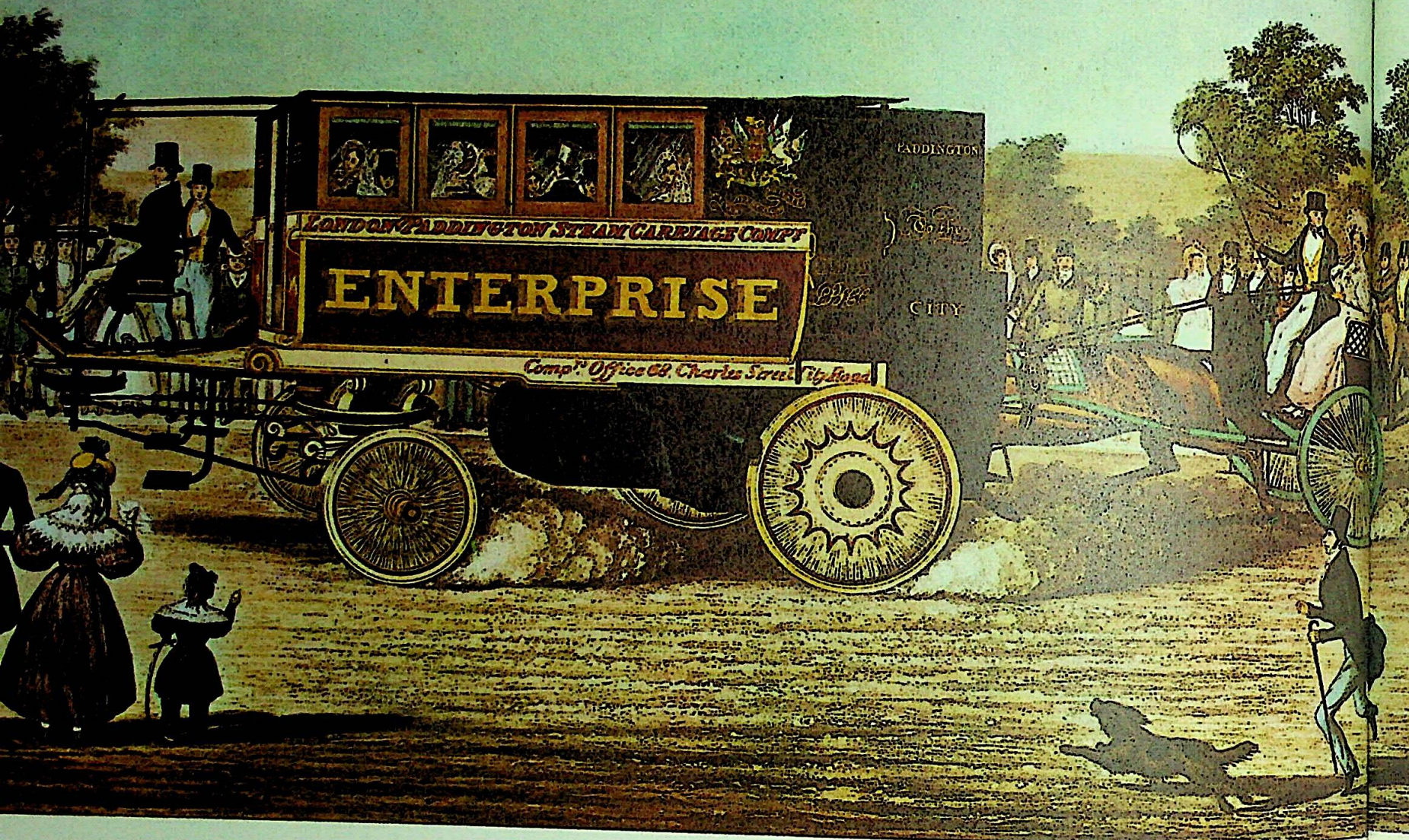
Mendel and Pavlov

They had little success in refuting Darwin's startling heresy. The revolution in scientific attitudes went on apace. However, the discoveries which would have made Darwin's case unassailable went unnoticed. The researches of Gregor Mendel, a monk from Moravia in Czechoslovakia, were only recognised in 1900. Mendel had spent the years from 1858 to 1866 studying generation after generation of garden pea plants. He found that their hereditary characteristics appeared at set intervals between generations.

From this he was able to evolve 'Mendel's Laws' on heredity. Not only plants, but animals and humans, transmitted their characteristics by heredity, with these characteristics changing slowly to meet new conditions in the way Darwin had suggested. Thirty years later the Dutch scientist Hugo de Vries discovered Mendel's work and confirmed his findings. The science of genetics had been founded.

Thomas Alva Edison.
Top centre: a Morse receiver.
Right: an early street alarm. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Top left: Marconi.
Above left: Edouard Branly, and the telegram sent across the Channel to him by wireless, 29 March 1899.





Nineteenth-century engineers used steam to power machines which disappeared with the technological breakthrough of the eighties and -nineties.

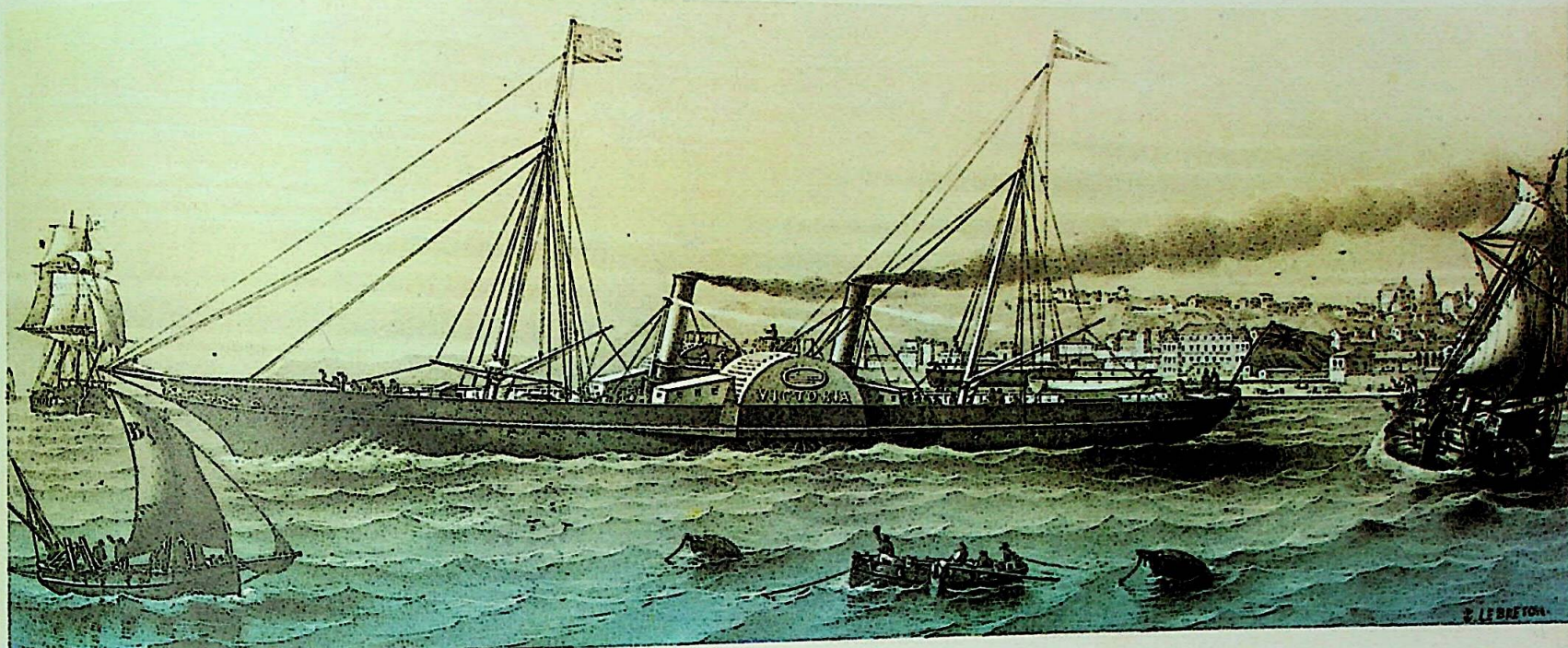
Above: a London steam omnibus, careering by Hyde Park, about 1845.

Right: two clumsy engines form the background of one of America's frequent railroading brawls between rival companies.

Above right: the rakish Folkestone-Boulogne paddle steamer in 1865.

Top right: a German design of 1854 shows an idealised peasant relaxing in the saddle of his steam plough. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





At the same time, Pavlov's dogs were making history. This Russian biologist found that once they were accustomed to having a bell rung immediately before feeding time, the dogs salivated on hearing the bell even when no food was forthcoming. This research produced the theory of 'conditioned reflexes', which was the first step towards the development of psychology as we know it. Also towards the end of the century, Sigmund Freud and his English populariser Havelock Ellis began to write on the psychology of sex and the importance of sexual motivation in human behaviour. Since it could be argued that psychological as well as physical characteristics were likely to be passed down from generation to generation, the stage was now set for the great scholars' controversy over the importance of environment versus heredity.

The new science

The most revolutionary findings of all, those of early atomic physics, were made in the last years of the century. In 1895, the

German scientist Wilhelm Roentgen, who had studied under Clausius as a student, discovered X-rays. Three years later an even greater triumph came with Pierre and Marie Curie's isolation of the first known radioactive element, radium. The research of the Curies stimulated the work of Ernest Rutherford on the structure of the atom. This in turn looked forward to the time when the atom would be split and atomic energy harnessed, for better or worse.

The whole structure of science was changing. New subjects were being examined even in the most traditional of universities. 'Laws' of science which had been accepted for centuries now became the butt of scholarly ridicule. The data available was expanding with alarming rapidity, and scientific methods of study changed accordingly. Now, scientists would propose a hypothesis which they accepted as the best possible approximation to the truth. They expected future experiments to suggest a better hypothesis, when the first one would be discarded. And its value would not have been explaining an aspect of nature so much as in suggesting

new areas of research. The German writer Max Weber even suggested that society should be studied through constructing hypothetical 'ideal types', against which its actual conditions could be measured. It is on his work and that of other scholars of his generation whom we would now call 'social scientists', that the new subject of sociology has been built.

The applications

The nineteenth century did not make its scientific discoveries for their own sake. Science was to be applied to technological advances, which could be used in the dominant industrial system of the West. But in spite of the discovery of new metals and new sources of power, the late nineteenth century was still the age of steel and coal.

Steam was still the main source of energy used in industry and communications. It had improved immensely since the days of Watt and his kettle, due to the use of the compound engine, which increased efficiency by using steam, once heated, more than

1892 CALENDRIER A NOS ABONNÉS SOUVENIR 1892

LE RÔLE DU GAZ

DANS L'HABITATION MODERNE

LE GAZ DANS LA CUISINE
Éclairage, Chauffage, Eau chaude, Réfrigération, Cuisine, Chauffage à Coke, etc.

LE GAZ DANS LA SALLE DE BAINS
Chauffage, Bain, Éclairage, Chauffage à Coke, Chauffage à Gaz, etc.

LE GAZ DANS LA SALLE À MANGER
Lustre à Gaz, Chauffage à Gaz, Chauffage à Coke, etc.

Le GAZ dans son triple rôle, de Lumière, Chaleur et Force Motrice.

QUELQUES MOTS SUR LE COKE
Le COKE de GAZ est le meilleur et le plus économique des Combustibles. De plus, c'est celui qui fournit le plus de chaleur. Pour obtenir un feu de Coke doux, constant, et pas trop chaud, avoir bien soin de maintenir le DESSUS du feu toujours bien couvert, et le DESSOUS de la grille toujours bien brillant.

once. Again, the invention of the Parsons steam turbine made long distance ocean transport faster and more reliable. By the middle of the century, the great private steamship companies, plying from Liverpool, Southampton, Cherbourg, and Le Havre to New York, were making enormous fortunes for their owners. By 1914 the ships used had become floating hotels, carrying their passengers in unparalleled luxury.

The steam turbine was also adapted to generating electricity in power stations. Electricity did not yet replace steam as a source of industrial power, but the nineteenth century was the time of the inventions which made its harnessing possible. A clumsy electric motor had been invented in Belgium as early as 1869. Twelve years later the brilliant German businessman, Werner Siemens, had the first electric streetcar running in Berlin. More important for industry was the success of the French engineer Deprez in transmitting electrical power by means of high tension wires, the forerunners of the lines of pylons which march across the landscape of modern Europe.

Power could now be distributed cheaply from central generators to industries hundreds of miles away. Factories would soon be able to move away from the coal mines towards the markets they served. On the whole this meant that they were no longer confined to the most unattractive localities. Since the first experiments in harnessing hydro-electric power had also been made, the basic components of the system of electrical power on which modern industry depends had been invented by the end of the century.

Soon it would also be possible to use electricity outside the factory. No nine-

Left: an advertising calendar put out by a French gas company in 1892.

Right: a disaster at Montparnasse station, Paris, in 1895, when a train failed to stop, and smashed over the platform and through the concourse wall.

Far right above: a neat little Le Dion motor car of 1901. Note the pneumatic tyres. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

teenth-century invention now seems as indispensable as Edison's humble domestic electric lamp. In international communications, the first ocean cables had been laid as early as the 1850s. On the completion of the transatlantic cable—under the direction of the physicist Lord Kelvin—New York celebrated with a firework display which accidentally set City Hall on fire. The *Illustrated London News* optimistically remarked that 'the scene, however, was magnificent'. Yet Kelvin's achievement was insignificant compared with Bell's later invention of the telephone, and Marconi's development of wireless radio.

But the nineteenth century was not to feel the full impact of electricity. The same was true of early experiments with the internal combustion engine. It was first used in commercially available motor cars in 1885, when the German firms of Daimler and Maybach, and Benz, both offered models to the public. In the same year, Gottlieb Daimler even produced the first recognisable motor-cycle. By the turn of the century, improved with the invention of the pneumatic tyre by Dunlop and Michelin, the motor car was known throughout Europe. The French manufactured it most enthusiastically, largely through the firms of Le Dion, Panhard, and Peugeot.

But the motor car was still an aristocrat's toy in 1914. Even with the application of Rudolph Diesel's heavy engines to some areas of marine transport, little inroad was made into the supremacy of steam as a motive power. In the year the First World War began, ninety per cent of all Europe's fuel for industry and transport came from coke and coal.



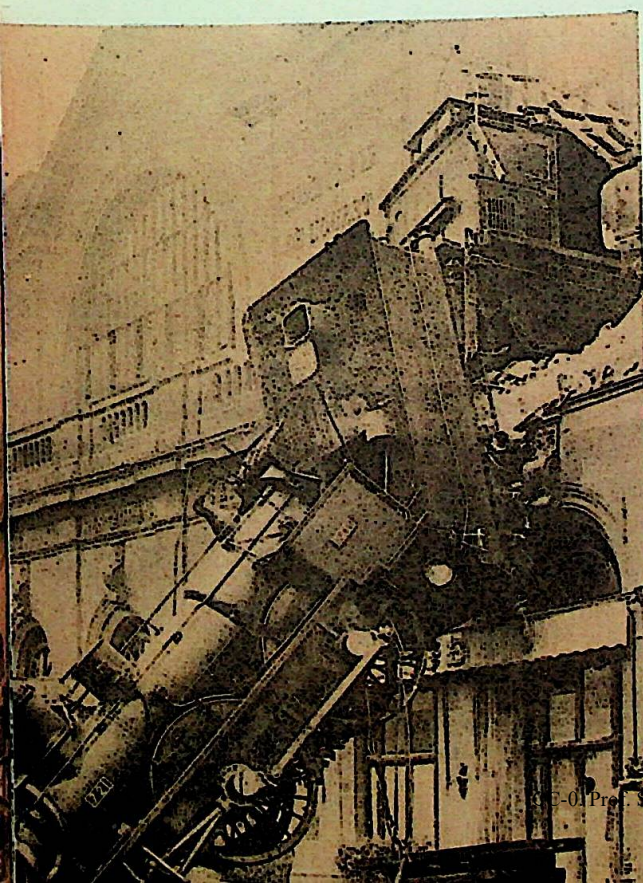
The shrinking world

As the output of industry increased, the long-distance transport which carried its wares improved to meet its demands. By 1914 the Kiel and Panama Canals had been added to Suez as the world's greatest artificial waterways. Steel-hulled, screw-driven ships had taken over the greatest share of the world's ocean transport. Railway communications also improved, especially in the United States, where the Atlantic and Pacific coasts were linked in 1869. On 10 May, Union Pacific Locomotive No 119 chugged up to Promontory Summit, Utah. It carried the Company Chairman, Dr Thomas C. Durant, to a ceremony at which he and Leland Stanford, President of the Central Pacific, tapped gold spikes into the final section of transcontinental track.

No European achievement in railway building equalled this. Nevertheless, the continental rail system expanded dramatically from about 1850 onwards. In many cases construction went on under the super-

vision of British engineers. The greatest plan of all was the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which carried its first train in 1904. The master mind behind it was the Russian minister of finance, Count Sergei Witte. The long journey from Moscow to Vladivostok, once one of several months, could now be made in favourable conditions in just under a fortnight. Trains in general became swifter. Lighter but more powerful engines and more comfortable coaches carried their passengers more cheaply and comfortably than ever before. The danger of accidents lessened as steel rails were substituted for faulty iron ones.

Competition between railway lines remained, with a resulting wastage of capital investment. But duels like the one between the North British and the Caledonian on the run from London to Scotland meant that schedules were pared, and passengers treated with unfailing consideration. The last years of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth were the heyday of the European railways.





Though few Europeans could afford to travel on the ocean liners or the great trans-continental railways, more modest advances affected the whole population. Even the poorest began to use the bicycle to release themselves from the monotony of town life. Again, the expensive Daimlers and Le Dions of 1900 were not far removed from the Model T Ford and Baby Austins manufactured a generation later—or indeed from the Vauxhalls and Buicks of 1970. Soon the bicycle would be replaced by the mass-produced motor car.

Early aeroplanes

It was only after 1900 that the lighter than air balloon gave way to the aeroplane. Even then, the dream of flying in machines heavier than air had fascinated inventors for so long that it was difficult to have any faith that it was possible for anyone to do so. The flight of the Wright brothers on the lonely shore at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, attracted little attention, in their own country or elsewhere. At the end of 1903 Orville Wright's clumsy monoplane, built in his brother's own workshop, staggered through its first flight. Two years later the same machine stayed airborne for thirty-

eight minutes. Yet the Brazilian aviator Santos-Dumont, when he made the first European flight in 1906, in a machine rather similar to a box kite, genuinely thought he was the first man to fly in a craft heavier than air. However, at least Santos-Dumont's achievement created some interest.

There was even greater popular enthusiasm when Blériot crossed the English Channel between Calais and Dover in his neat little monoplane in 1909. After this flying came to have an enormous glamour in the public eye, which made the Royal Flying Corps one of the most difficult services to enter during the 1914-18 War, though the military possibilities of aircraft were at first little understood. During the first part of the war they were considered one of the frills of the armed services.

On the other hand, it was well understood that the new invention would soon have commercial possibilities. Even the modest Wrights had been primarily businessmen. They flew in sober three-piece suits, starched collars, and neat ties. The only article of city dress they left on the ground was their bowler hats. In the last few years before the war, other speculators began to build, improve, and sell aircraft. Though the United States War Department had origi-

inally scoffed at the Wright's toy, governments soon began to buy aeroplanes. Certainly early critics considered that the heavier than air machine, like the balloon, would be useless except for reconnaissance. They considered the problems of shooting or bombing from vehicles travelling at the breakneck speed of 60 m.p.h. to be insuperable. Nevertheless, this startling invention of the early years of the century was soon to revolutionise warfare. It would also have the greatest effect of all on international communications.

The world economy

As communications within and between the nations improved, it became possible for industry and agriculture to specialise. Produce could now be carried cheaply and quickly from one end of the world to the other. To take three examples, Ontario could concentrate on growing wheat, the Scottish border towns on producing woollens, the Rhur on producing steel. Each area could provide the world with its speciality, and avoid wasting time on producing the general necessities of life. These could readily be shipped from other regions in turn devoted to exporting other



Left: a steam car comes to grief in the Paris-Madrid rally of 1903.

Above right: an 1896 Peugeot, with solid tyres and basic horse-carriage shape, seems much more primitive than the Le Dion illustrated on page 83. However, progress was not uninterrupted. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

commodities. Another result of the improvement in communications was that it was now economical for Europe and America to import raw materials from the underdeveloped areas absorbed during the 'new imperialism'. Specialisation came to be the keynote of the world's economic life, as steam and steel reduced the area and widened the scope of the world market.

Industrial progress

In the late nineteenth century, industry quickly adapted both to the use and manufacture of the new inventions. Communications improved its sources of raw materials and expanded its markets, and factories in turn threw on creating the materials required for these communications. At the same time, advances in the processes of production increased industrial output. For instance Europe's production of steel had increased and made cheaper ever since 1855, when Sir Henry Bessemer invented the converter which made steel by passing air through molten cast iron. A greater advance came with the Siemens-Martin process, using furnaces fired with superheated gas, which permitted the production of larger quantities of highly tempered steel.

Advances in mining made it possible to exploit mineral-bearing areas like Pennsylvania and South Africa. Huge new deposits of increasingly important metals like copper, tin, and zinc were discovered in Russia, Canada, the U.S.A., and even West Africa. Lighter metals, which were to be of the first importance in twentieth century industry and technology, were added to the traditional ones. Aluminium, for instance, had first been isolated in the laboratory in 1854, by two scientists working independently, the Frenchman Sainte Claire Deville and the German Friedrich Wöhler, Professor of Chemistry at Göttingen. The latter also isolated two other metals, beryllium and titanium, which were later put to use in making light alloys of steel.

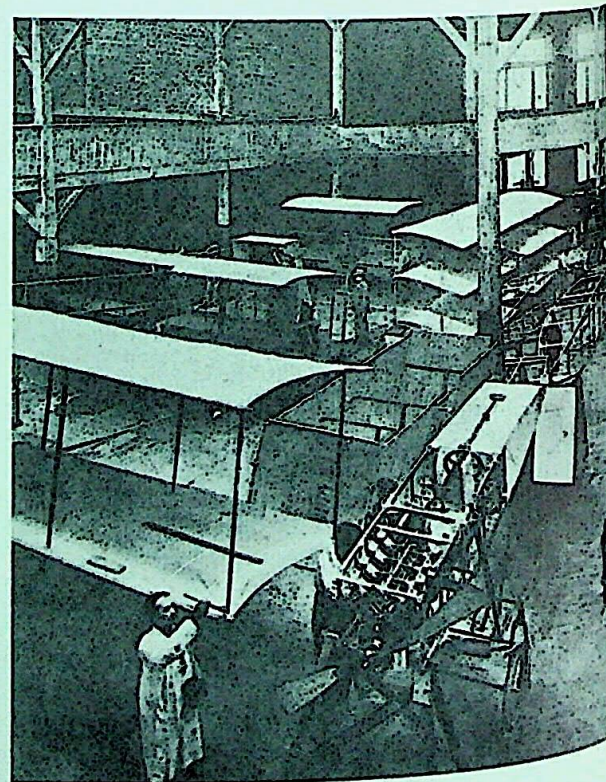
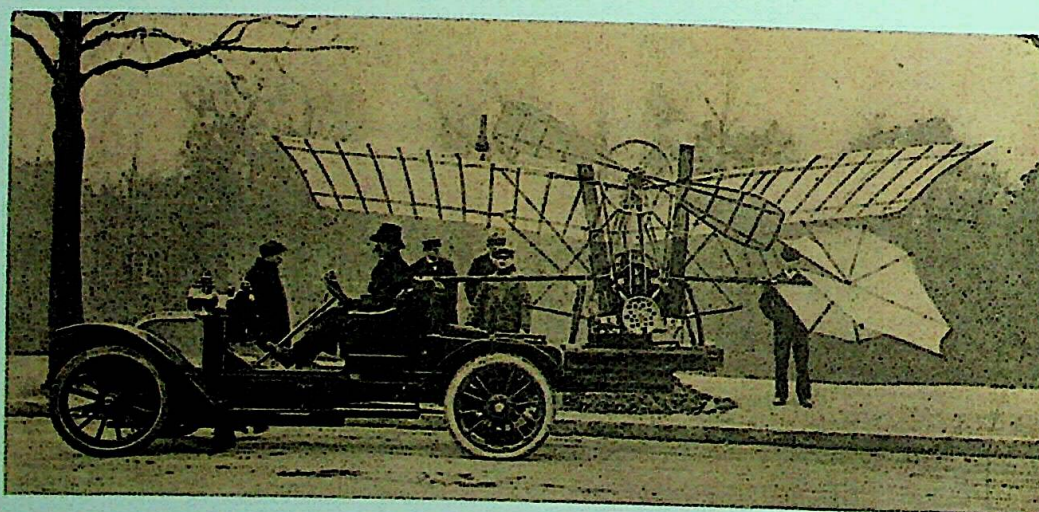
In industrial terms, however, a more important discovery came in 1886 when the American Charles Hall evolved the method of producing aluminium economically by electrolysis. It had long been known that steel could be hardened through the addition of tungsten. Duralumin, a light and hard substitute for steel, was first produced in 1908 by combining aluminium, copper, manganese, and magnesium. The basic metals used in modern technology were now available. Metal production as a whole

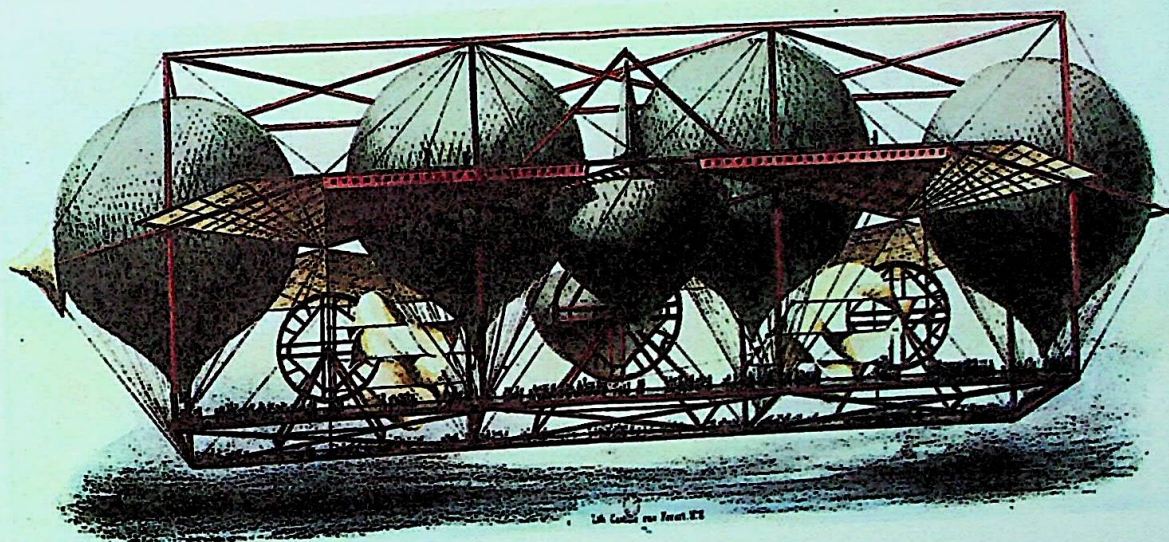
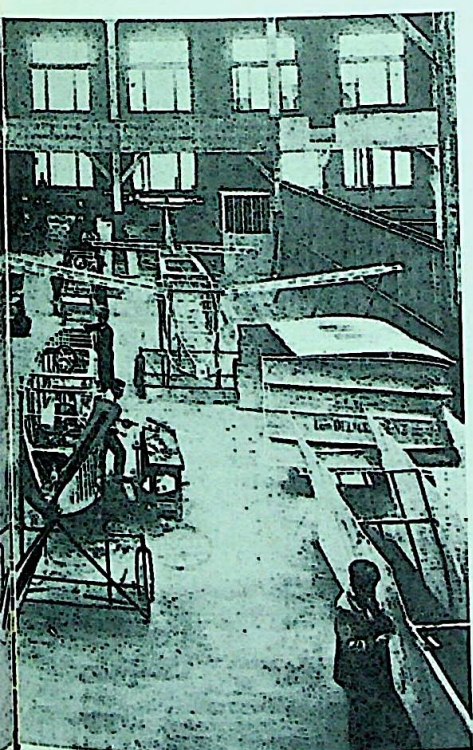


Above: Farman passes the measured kilometer at an Aero Club of France meeting. Below: Santos Dumont of Brazil carries his tiny new machine to a test flight on the Champs Élysées.

Right: an aero factory in 1908.

Far right: sketch of a proposed lighter-than-air forerunner of the jumbo jet. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



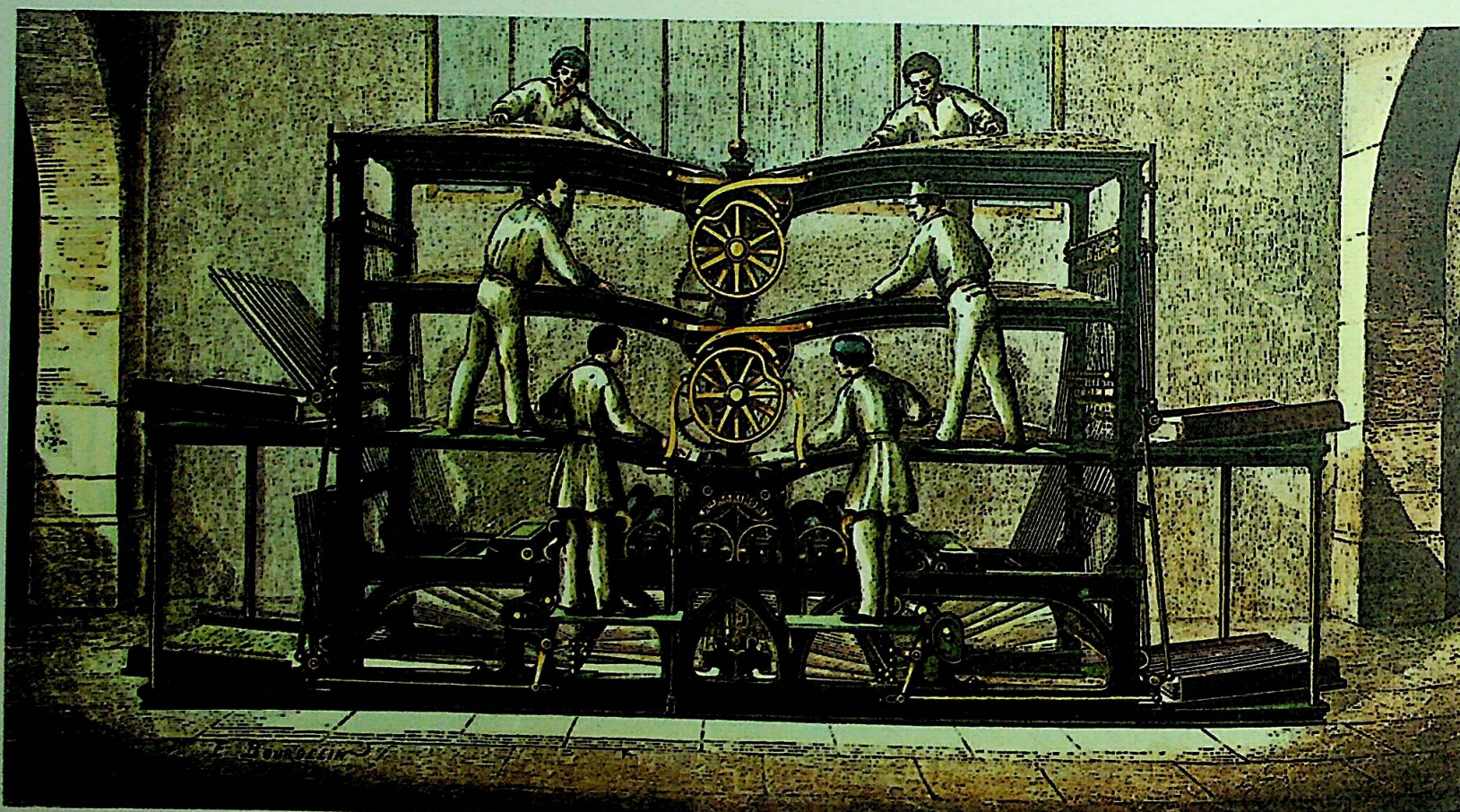
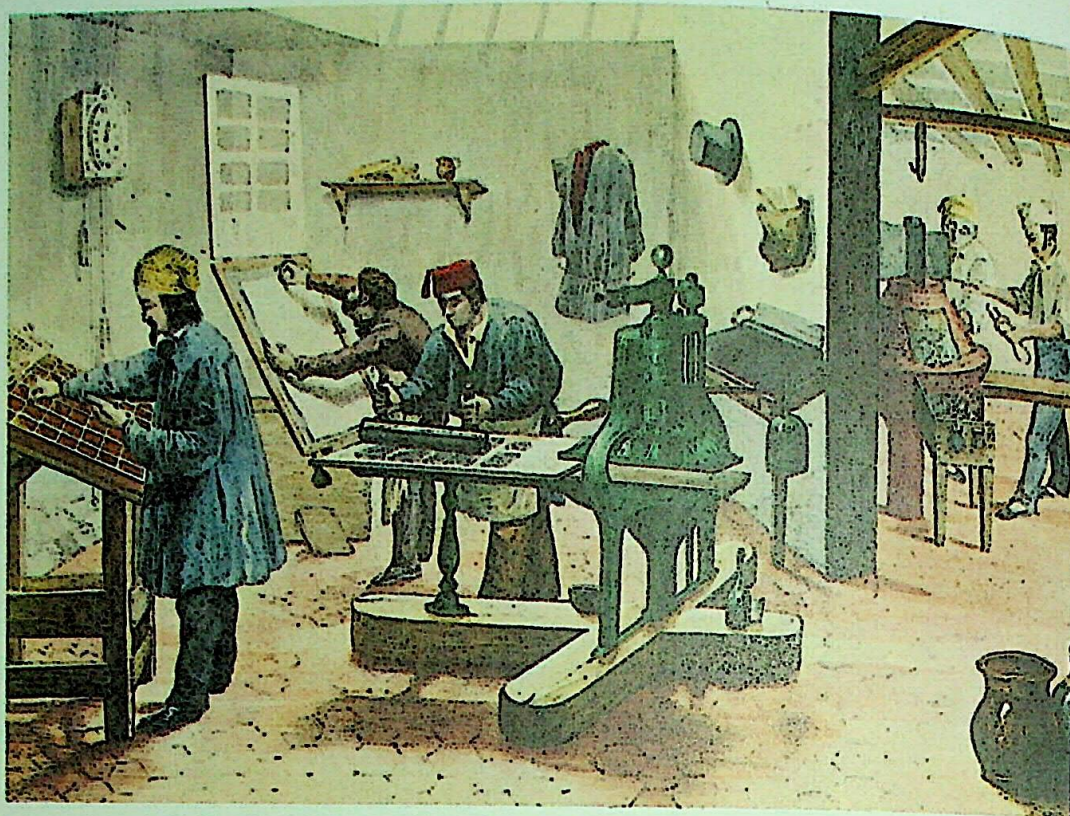


Because of their literacy, printers like Proudhon were always among the leaders of the labour movement.

Right: typesetting at the famous French publishing firm, Librairie Hachette.

Below: mechanised newspaper printing in the early 1900s.

*Far right: a labour congress in Paris, 1876.
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*





bounded ahead. One hundred and fifty times as much steel was produced in 1913 as in 1850.

Industry also began producing articles which had previously been unknown, and which sent Europeans all over the globe to find raw materials. For instance the infant automobile and aero industries were indirectly responsible for the devastation of the Belgian Congo. After the invention of the pneumatic tyre by Michelin and the introduction of vulcanisation by Goodyear, world demand for rubber became insatiable. The one staple which the Congo could produce was crude rubber, and its unfortunate population was decimated by the refusal of European factors to accept tribute in anything else.

With less disastrous results, the huge British textile industry searched for new sources of raw cotton once its main supplies were cut off by the American Civil War. India had always grown cotton in moderate amounts, and by the end of the century a substantial amount of Lancashire cotton was coming from Egypt, now effectively a British colony. Improvements in dyeing and patterning processes meant that more and more cotton prints could be produced to sell throughout the world. The British woollen industry had expanded in the early nineteenth century using the fleeces of Cheviot sheep which landlords had used to stock the Scottish Highlands after enclosing their estates and expelling their tenants during the Clearances. It now expanded even further to absorb the fine wool produced in Australia after the introduction of the Merino.

Widespread use of synthetic fibres would

have to wait for the great chemical manufacturing complexes of our own century, but the textile industry was now far removed from the old era of craft production controlled by small businessmen. Textiles, like most other enterprises, were moving into an age of mass-production when the great captains of industry effectively elbowed lesser men out of the economy. More and more men who would once have owned their own businesses sank to being employed by others.

Agriculture

The same was even true of farming itself, traditionally the preserve of men with little capital. The specialisation made possible by improved communications was profitable, but in the first instance it was also costly. Australian sheep farming was only one area where the capital needed to begin farming was enormous. In other branches, new machinery and effective fertilisation made yield higher, though this also meant that a larger unit had to be cultivated to give an economic return on capital invested. Once again the small man went to the wall.

The process was accelerated by the fact that competition could now be felt thousands of miles away from the places where crops were produced. Until subsidies and tariffs were introduced, for instance, it became uneconomical for European farmers to grow wheat, since North American imports could be sold so cheaply. The smaller producers were forced out of the market, while larger ones diversified the crops they grew, or began to clamour for tariff protection. Even then, much European farming sank to being a

form of glorified market gardening. The fruit farming of Britain and the Low Countries is a case in point. Even the French wine industry falls partly into this category, although it seemed likely to be wiped out by the scourge of phylloxera after 1868, until the European vine was saved by grafting it on to hardy Californian stocks. In agriculture in general, small farmers who failed had the choice of working for other farmers, moving into the towns, or emigrating.

The trusts

At all levels, units in the world economy grew larger. Free competition destroyed competition as the great industrial trusts swallowed one another up, and became monopolies. Even if this did not happen, competition between huge concerns meant that the small businessman could not survive. By the end of the century companies had appeared in Europe which carried out every stage of the production of whatever article they made. In turn such companies raised capital for their enormous operations through borrowing from the bankers' trusts which dominated the new phase of 'finance capitalism'. The bankers' return for investing in any given company was to claim a number of its directorships. Great financial houses like Morgans, Barings, and Rothschilds thus came to have a finger in most industrial pies, and could effectively control the operations of the business world as a whole.

The only direction in which they could not control it was in its tendency to manufacture too much for its own good. Over-production was the bane of the mature

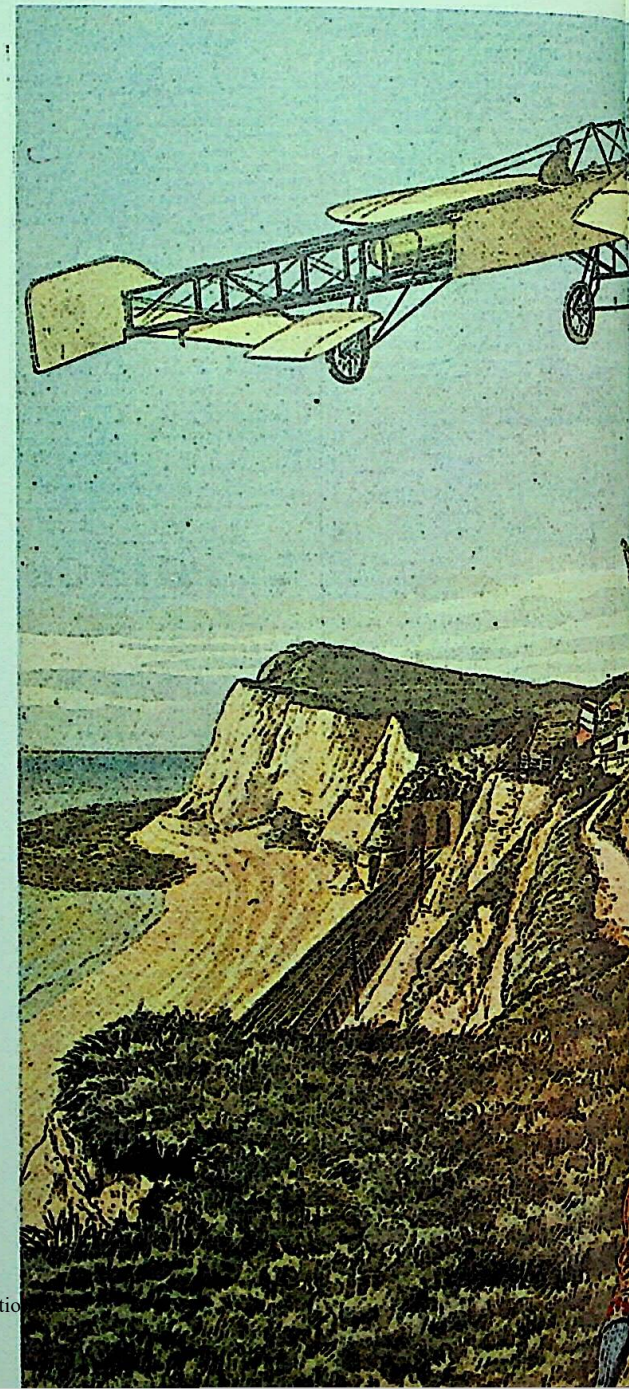
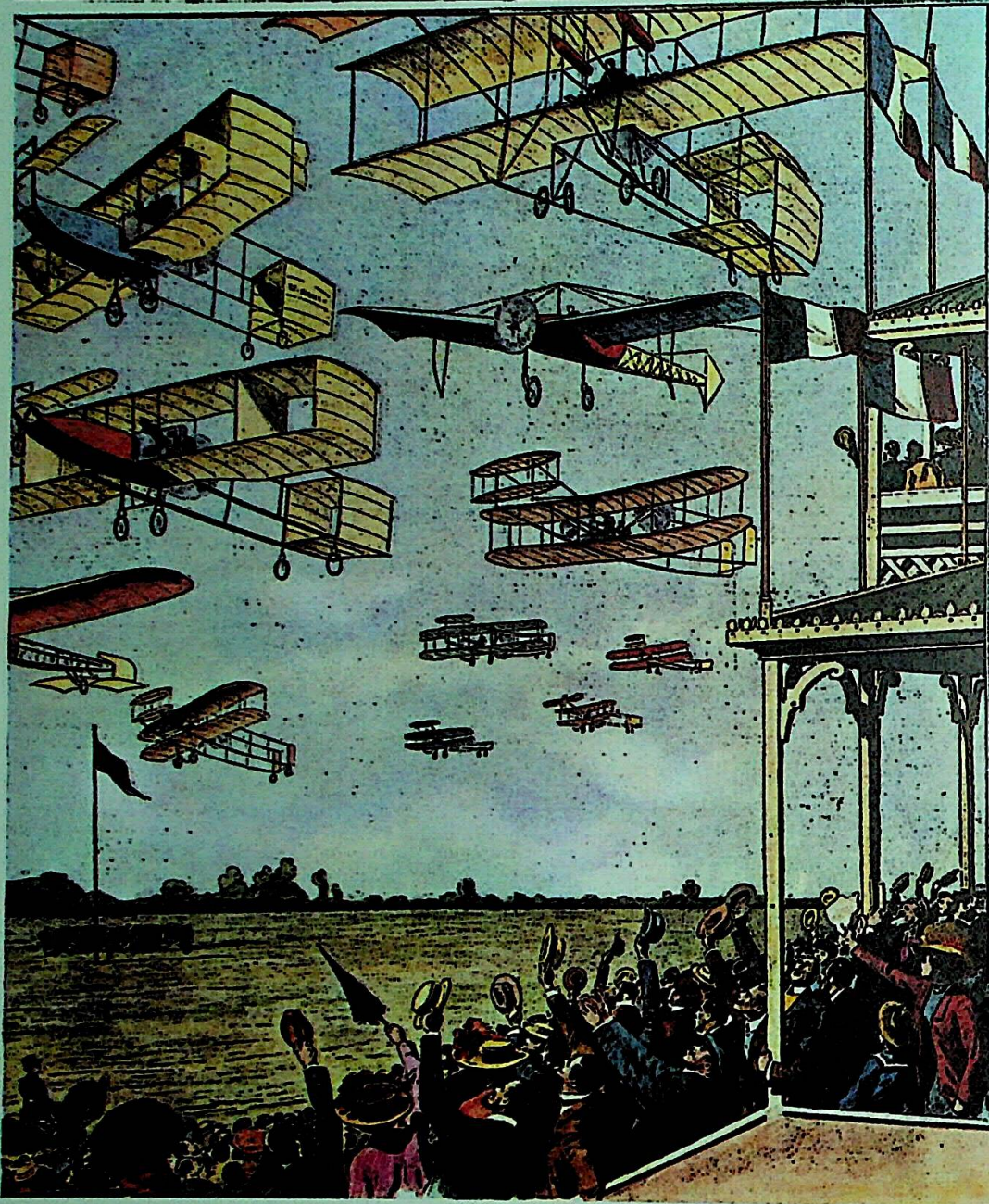
Le Petit Journal

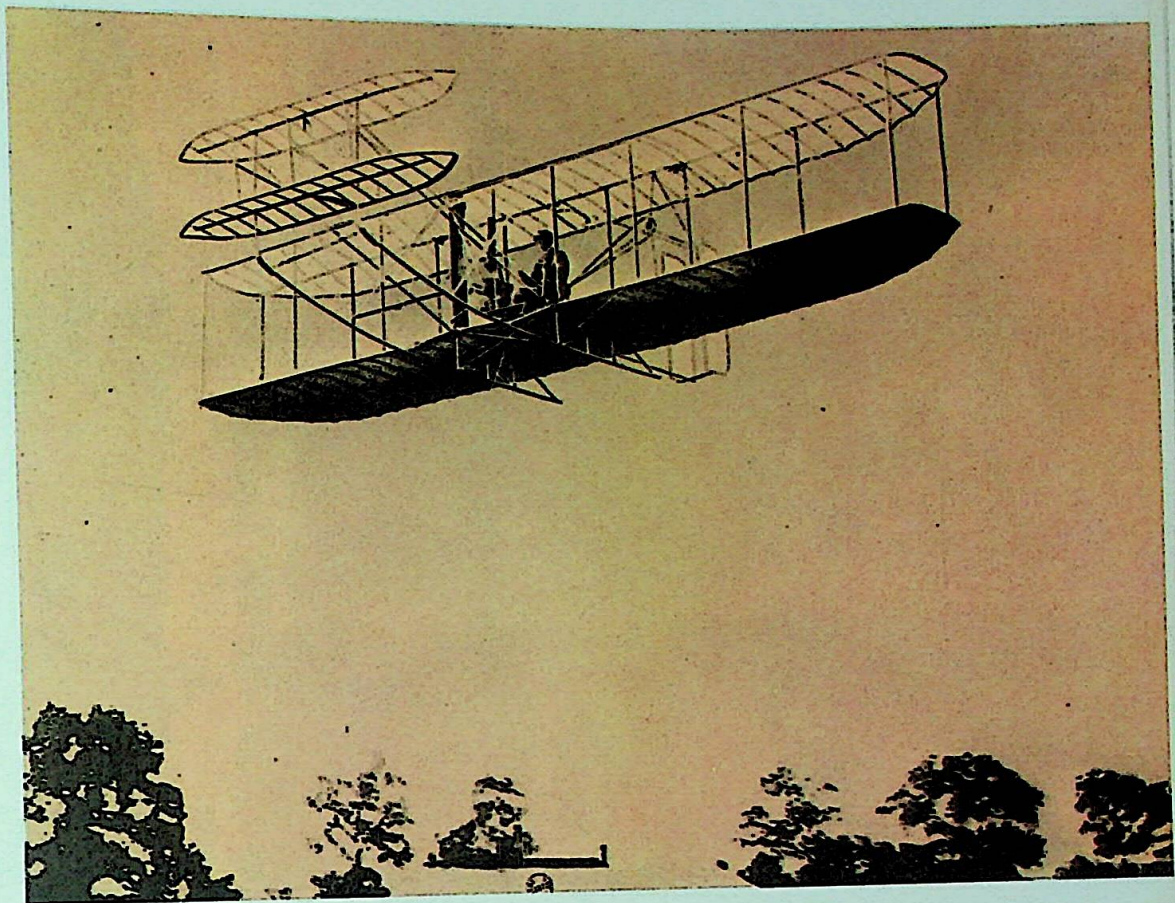
ADMINISTRATION
41, RUE SAFFREY, 41
Les manuscrits ne sont pas rendus
on s'abonne sans frais
dans tous les bureaux de poste

5 CENT. SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ 5 CENT.
20^{ème} Année Numéro 981
DIMANCHE 5 SEPTEMBRE 1909

ABONNEMENTS
PAR AN
FRANCE 3 fr. 50
ÉTRANGER 4 fr. 50
DÉPARTEMENTS 2 fr. 50
ÉTRANGER 3 fr. 50

Far right: Wilbur Wright's machine airborne at 60 m.p.h. above the fields of Dayton, Ohio, in 1908. European enthusiasm was aroused only when Blériot crossed the Channel in July 1909. Below: he flies over the cliffs near Dover. Left: a French illustrated paper, the Petit Journal, celebrates the craze for flying with a cover dangerously full of air traffic. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





capitalist system of the nineteenth century. Each time the bulk of commodities on the market outran world demand, a slump resulted. 1877, 1893, 1907, and 1929, to mention the worst examples, saw disasters of this kind. Nothing could be done to curb the seesaw boom/bust pattern of business life until governments intervened to prevent overproduction. Meanwhile the industrial nations frantically searched for new markets to absorb their surpluses.

Labour

The slumps which caused industrialists so much worry had even worse effects on the masses of working men who had been gathered to work in the new factories. At each recession large numbers of them were left without jobs and the division between employers and employed appeared harsher. Industry was now controlled by a very few entrepreneurs. Small businessmen had become wage-earners, and farmers who had failed to withstand growing competition moved into the towns to join them. All became slaves of the factories, a solid 'proletariat' at odds with the captains of industry. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx argued that in this class capitalism had created its own ultimate enemy, the force which would overthrow it. For the present, however, the proletariat worked on at his monotonous task — 'He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack that is required of him'. Yet

this humiliated workman, Marx thought, would be the revolutionary of the future. Eventually there would be a slump from which capitalism could not recover, since it would have no further markets to absorb its surpluses.

Later Lenin argued that the 'new imperialism' had postponed this final crisis by annexing territory which would become new fields for investment and salesmanship — but after these had been used up, he maintained, the revolution would come. After prolonged slump, the proletariat, organised by alienated middle-class leaders, would turn on their masters and destroy the capitalist system.

The cheating of the revolutionaries

Undoubtedly the speeding up of European expansion overseas was to some extent connected with the need to find wider and wider market areas. Yet the final crisis which Marx and Lenin prophesied has not come about. What they underestimated was the flexibility of the system they criticised. They could not look forward to the time when the liberal English economist John Maynard Keynes would advise governments to spend as much money as possible, even if this involved increasing public debts, to guarantee markets for their national industries. Nor could they imagine that the capitalists would ever change their nature to the extent where they would deliberately pay high wages so that their workmen could

buy enough to prevent industry falling on hard times.

Marx would have been even more astounded if he could have been transported to the world of the 1960s. In his own time no one had thought of sophisticated advertising devices which make it possible to sell articles which rational enquiry proves to be useless. No one had thought of the even more sophisticated practice of selling articles which must be replaced regularly because they have been specifically designed to fall to bits as soon as is decently possible. The capitalist system actually had a great deal more strength and adaptability than Marx had imagined. The structure of industry which emerged in the

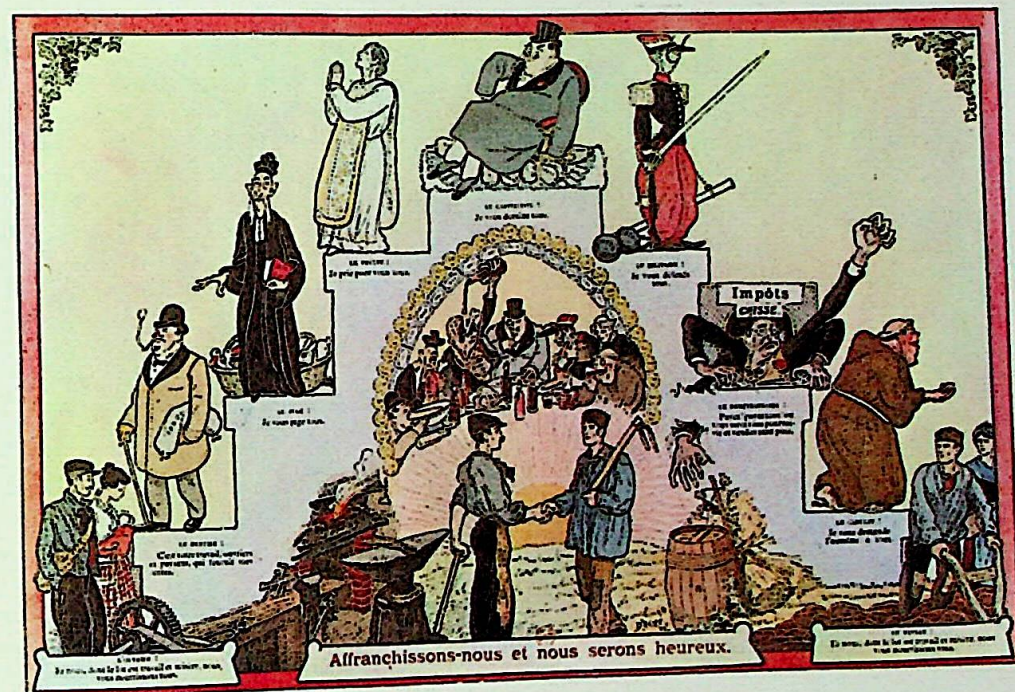
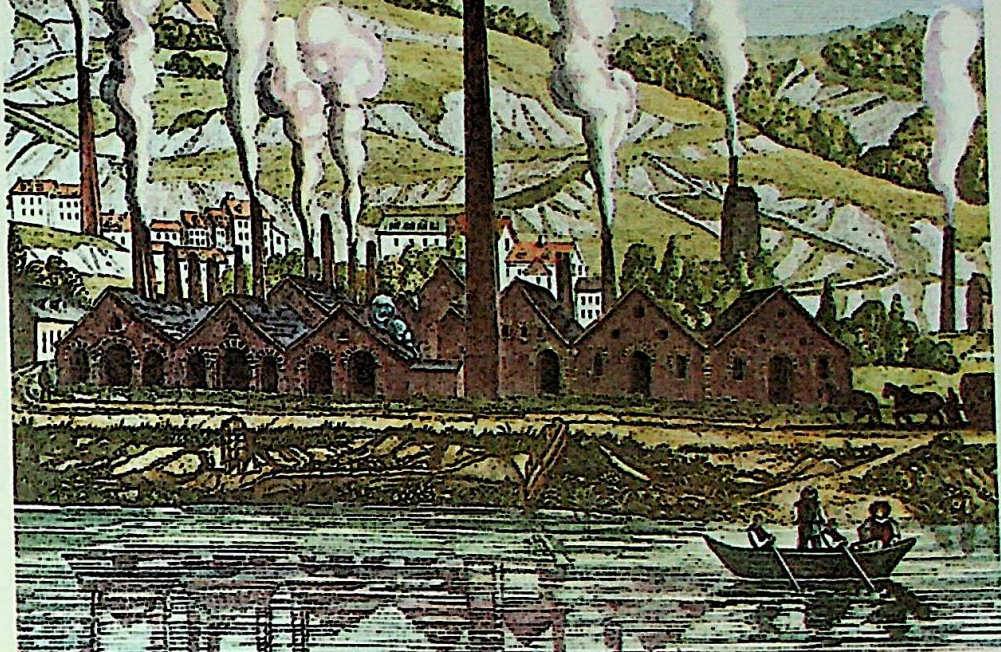
Right: the anarchist Louise Michel, exiled to New Caledonia after the Commune of 1871.

Far right: the Creusot ironworks.

Below right: a scathing cartoon shows that only the worker and the peasant are not parasites.

Below: Forain's powerful lithograph, Strike. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



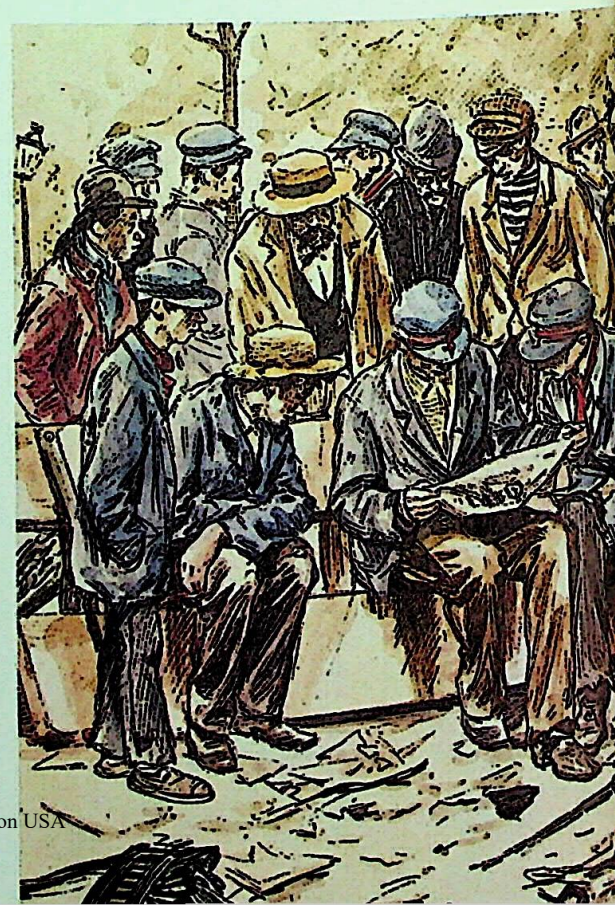
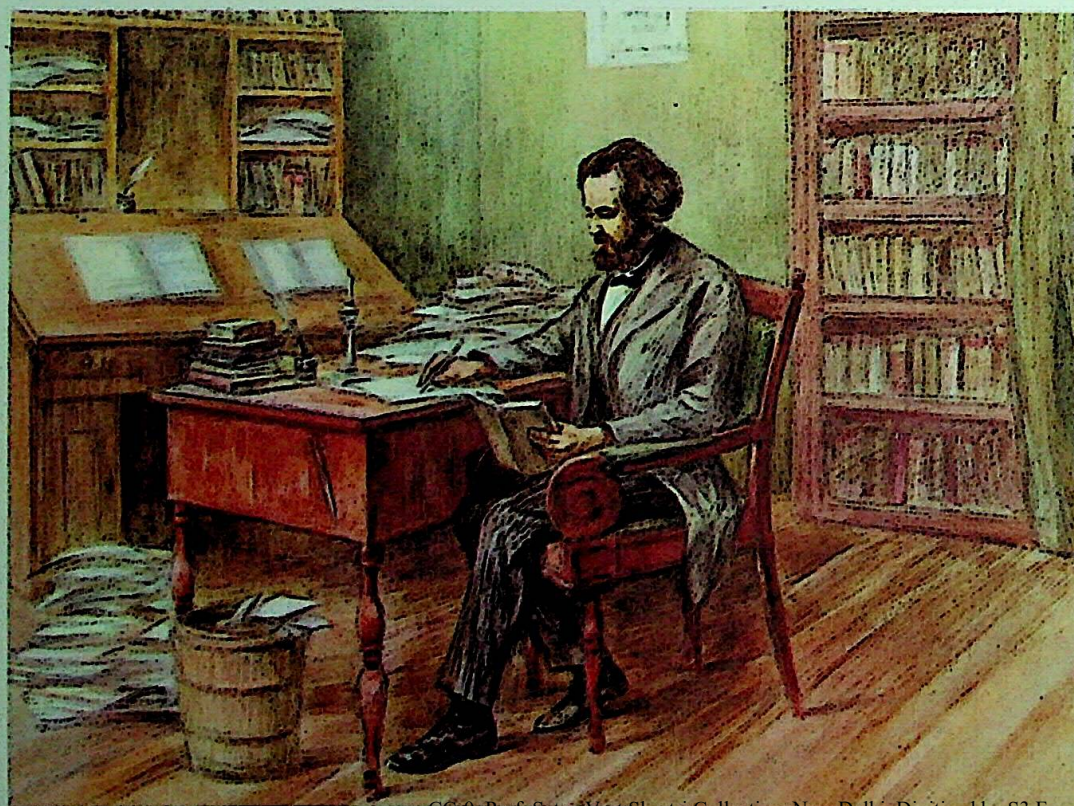
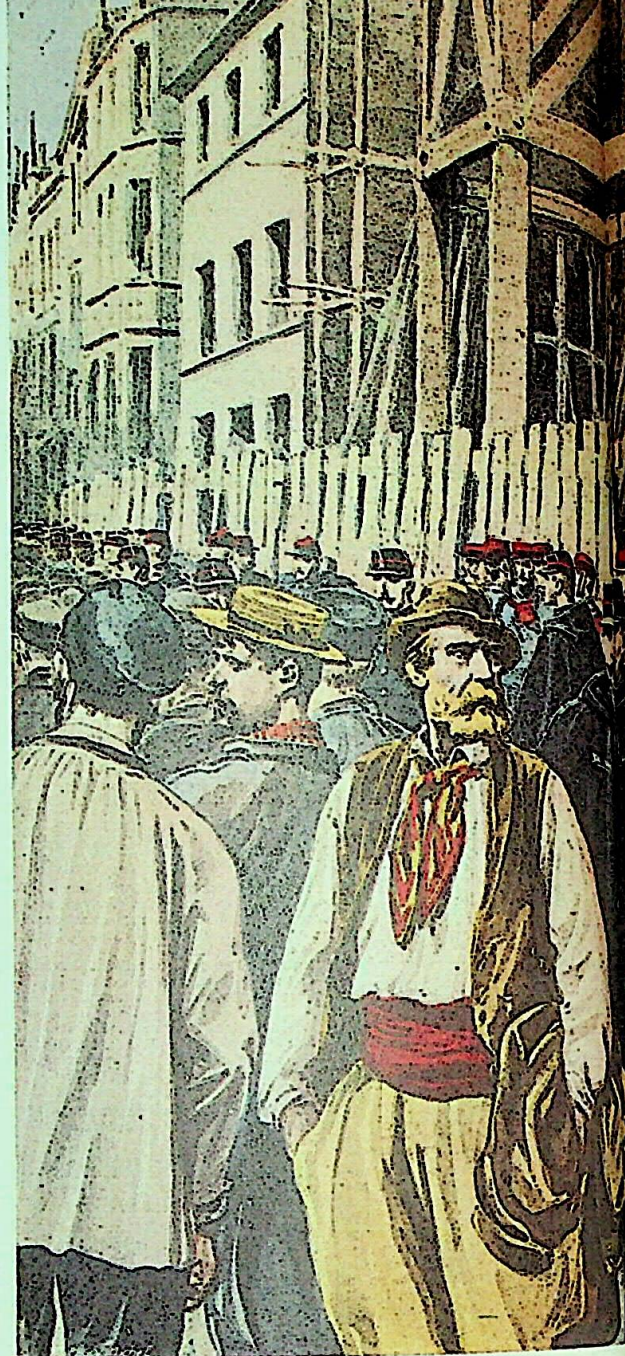


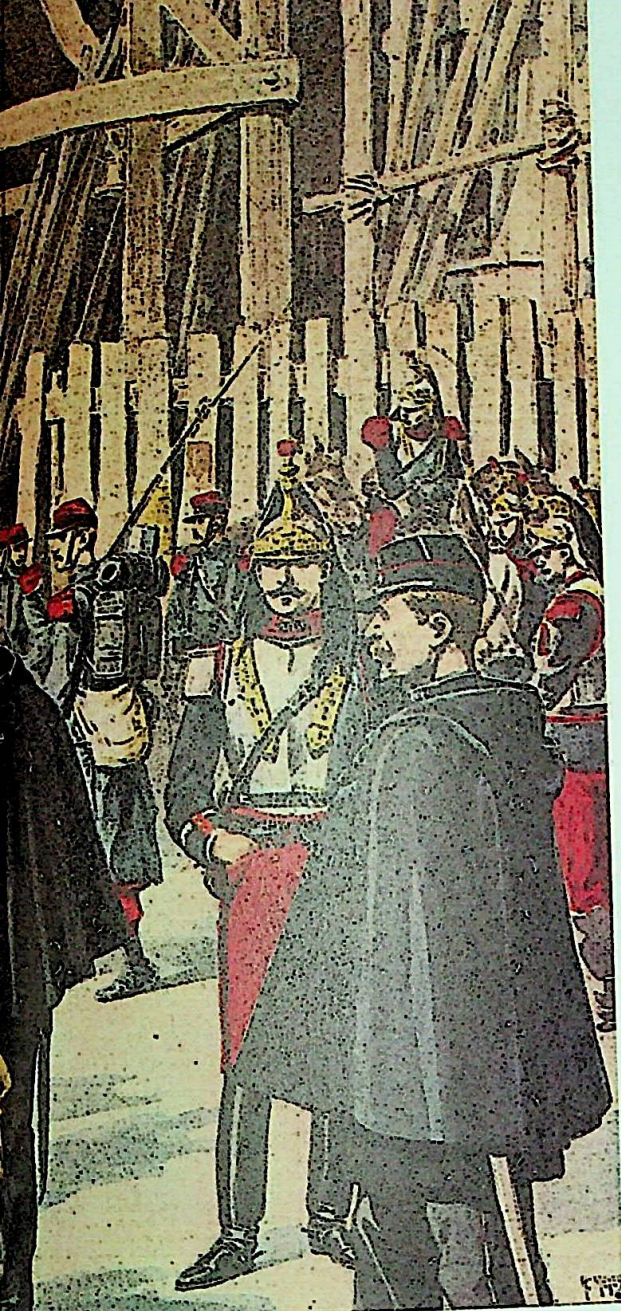
in our own day.

Until the appearance of Keynes' startling theories, however, European and American industry had its troubles. The saving grace was that many businessmen quickly developed an acrobatic knack of making money out of their own difficulties. When fears of overproduction, or perhaps hints of diminishing gold supply, led to alarm on the stock exchanges, nothing was simpler for those who had reserves of money than to buy shares at low prices, and then to sit back to wait for conditions to improve. There was no capital gains tax in the 1890s. From making profits out of stock exchange fluctuations, it was a short step to engineering them. False rumours could start panic among speculators as well as true ones, and exactly the same profits could be made by buying cheap and selling dear. By these means and more honest ones, the numbers of extremely rich men increased.

Town and country

The rise of the industrialists also meant that the relation between farm and factory changed. Until the nineteenth century, perhaps even until the end of the nineteenth





century, the richest men in Europe had been landowners. The increase in the size of business units, however, made it possible for men like Krupp in the German steel and armaments industry, Michelin in the French rubber industry, or Morgan in American banking, to amass fortunes undreamt of by earlier generations.

As for the legions of labourers required to man the factories, they were provided partly by draining off the population of the countryside. Farmers who did not survive the worsening conditions of competition in agriculture naturally sought a better livelihood in the growing industrial towns. It was only for very few that the hope of riches was ever fulfilled, but the lure of the city meant that by the end of the century the characteristic European was coming to be a townsman rather than a peasant, though this development did not go ahead at a uniform speed. France, for instance, retains much of her rural character up to the present day. Only half her population were town-dwellers when the first World War began. Britain had reached this proportion as early as 1851. Even so, France was highly urbanised compared with the backward countries of Eastern Europe.

The new industrial complexes were also helped in finding adequate labour by the population explosion of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Europe had a population of 293 million in 1870, and 490 million in 1914. This rise resulted not from change in the birth rate, but from a startling increase in life expectancy. The death rate fell as hygiene improved and medical research concentrated on preventing disease rather than dealing with it once it had arrived.

The urban problem

Europe's growing towns created many difficulties for those responsible for governing them. Not the least was that the workers who lived in the towns began to combine in efforts to improve their condition, in ways which threatened the supremacy of their employers. A more immediate problem, however, was the one of health. The more enlightened European governments and local authorities had to set about dealing with the risks created by filth and overcrowding in the massive cities of the new industrial world. The most important

pioneer of the new science of urban administration was the British 'philosophic radical' Edwin Chadwick. Pasteur's work afterwards made it clear that the removal of slums was urgent.

By the end of the century it was agreed that towns should be planned to give their inhabitants at least reasonable amounts of light and space. It was recognised that the risk of infection meant that sewage and garbage disposal, and the provision of uncontaminated water supplies, were services which had to be provided for the public good, whether by central or local authorities. Some advanced towns set magnificent examples—Berlin almost doubled in population in the nineteenth century, and yet had the most modern sanitary services in Europe. As the pattern of growth combined with more rigid health precautions was repeated in every city, so the old cycles of recurrent epidemics like typhoid and cholera gradually disappeared. At the same time, the role of the state in governing citizens' lives for their own good widened. European civil services swelled and on the whole became more efficient. Traditional groups of government employees were joined by a new and continually expanding class of trained local government officials.

The proletariat rises

As the city populations swelled, the differences between those who owned businesses and those who worked in them sharpened. More significantly, as workmen were crowded together, they became aware that they had common interests and shared grievances against the captains of industry who controlled their lives. A true mass working class had now appeared. As a mass electorate, it was to revolutionise European politics after the First World War. In the late nineteenth century, sections of the workers set about expressing and organising their opposition to the capitalist system. Strike action became more militant, and genuine socialist parties appeared throughout the West. The Socialists' First International, founded prematurely in 1868, had collapsed by the 'seventies. But the formation of the Second International in 1889, and the frequent congresses it held from that time onwards, signalled the organisation of the proletariat as a force in world politics.

Marx and Engels were not labour's only prophets, but they were the most influential.
Far left above: a bronze by Walker Howart depicts both.
Far left: Marx at his desk. (Zeughaus, East Berlin.)
Above left and left: labour disturbances in Paris in the eighteen-nineties. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



The liberal middle class

The international socialist movement, pledged to destroying capitalism, had itself been produced by the changing industrial order. This also involved a great expansion in the city-dwelling middle class. Its new members were men whose education was good, whose salaries were comfortable, and whose posts depended on the prosperity of the great industrialists. But the fact that ownership was now concentrated in such few hands diminished their opportunities of rising up the scale.

The characteristic middle class man of the 'nineties no longer owned his own small business, but was employed in someone else's large one. He might also be a professional man disturbed at the low reward given to his specialised skills relative to industrial incomes, or a humanitarian genuinely distressed at the misery he saw in the working population around him. Unlike the workers, none of these groups had the

slightest intention of destroying the capitalist system. This would have been to take the bread out of their own mouths. But they did set out to try to mitigate its abuses. It was they who were most enthusiastic over improvements in the conditions of work in industry. Above all, they used their votes to bring pressure to bear on those richer and more powerful than themselves, entering into temporary alliances with workmen for this purpose.

This was the liberal impulse as it emerged in the later part of the century, giving rise to the organisation of the great European liberal parties, the best example of which is the British one. All such parties, incidentally, were strongly patriotic, and did much to sweep their countries into overseas expansion at the time of the 'new imperialism'. Socially, however, they were far more wedded to the existing system than even the most conservative trades unions and labour parties which were emerging throughout Europe at the same time.

The trade unions

The most effective bargaining counter which the workers possessed was their labour. They had everything to fight for. Working conditions were miserable, hours outrageously long, pay low, and security or hope of advancement non-existent. Although many dreamed of a new socialist order where these abuses could not exist, others joined the liberals in working for short-term improvements of their position. But where the liberals trusted in the political mechanism, the workers' hope was to force concessions through direct action. They therefore set about organising strong labour unions to use the weapon of the strike most effectively. In doing so, they could be sure of some middle class support. In the 'nineties, they were even encouraged by the Catholic Church, which cast aside its traditional conservatism in an enlightened attempt to win the poor away from the atheistic assumptions of socialism.



French peasants remained less radical than the urban working class. Far left: Breton peasants riot against the anti-clerical measures of the French government.

Left: omnibuses burn; disturbances in Paris. Below left: the Place de la République, traditional gathering place for international socialists as well as French ones. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

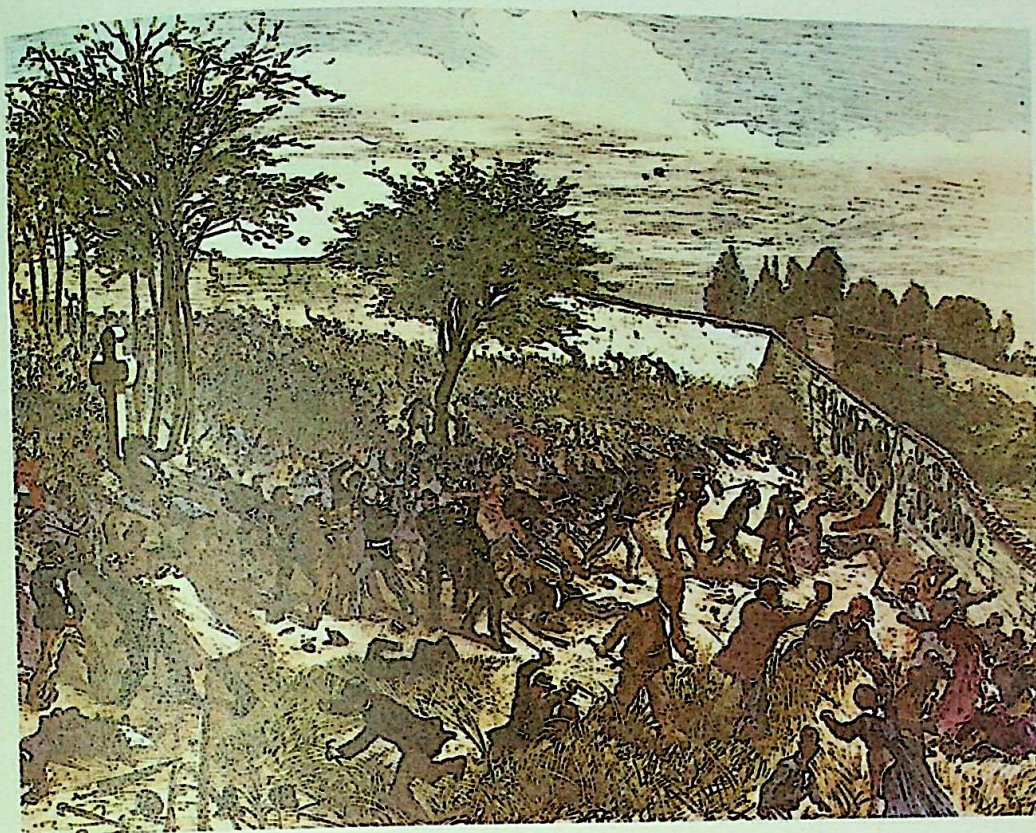


But the first problem of the trade unions was that not only their strikes but their existence were illegal in most European countries. Collective bargaining could also be defined as conspiracy in restraint of trade, and it was only gradually that the unions gained protection for their funds, and had the rights of striking and picketing recognised.

The Trades Union Congress

Trade union history in each European country followed different lines according to the political structure and industrial sectors involved. In Britain, the Trades Union Congress, the first of its kind, initially met in Manchester in 1868. Its success in extorting legal recognition of its status and the right to strike from Gladstone and Disraeli inspired trade unionists throughout Europe. But the T.U.C. remained a relatively conservative body dominated by skilled workmen.





Left: another place of pilgrimage for European socialists—the graves of the 'martyrs' shot in the Commune of 1871. Annual gatherings there could always produce disturbances of the sort illustrated. Far left: another peasant riot, in 1893, to defend the privileges of the clergy, always the leaders of country communities. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

When the 1875 recession threw thousands out of work, unskilled labourers also formed their own unions. The 'new unionism' was deeply influenced by socialist thought, and developed political goals. At the Edinburgh Congress of 1896, British unionists called for a nationalisation of mines and railways. Though this generation of leaders did not achieve anything so startling, their ties with the Parliamentary Labour Party, which worked in partial alliance with the liberals after its foundation in 1893, produced much of the legislation on working conditions which was fought for. The Liberal government further conciliated the Labour Party by providing for limited but compulsory National Insurance against sickness and industrial injury. By 1914, it seemed that the representation of the British working class electorate through parliament had enabled them to lobby for advances in the conditions and security of their labour.

Although no other country had a union movement as successful as the British one, all show comparable developments during this period. In Germany, for instance, the union movement was well represented in the Reichstag through the Social Democrat Party. This had more seats than any other single party by 1912. Because of this success, both genuine revolutionary socialism and straight concentration on collective bargaining were underplayed in Germany. German unionism also had undertones of nationalism disturbing to socialists elsewhere. The Gotha Programme of 1875, for instance, stirred Marx to violent opposition because of its admission of the need for a 'people's army', presumably to fight

nationalist wars. With the successes gained at the polls, there seemed no need for revolution, or even forceful direct action in industry. Indeed the bulk of German unionists were opposed to the socialists.

When the German equivalent of the T.U.C. first met in 1890, its general secretary, Karl Legien, even argued that the hope of organising a general strike was a delusion. Its inevitable failure would destroy the patient advances made by previous generations of trade unionists. In 1906 the Social Democrat Party itself took exactly the same standpoint. If this was socialism, it was not the form envisaged in the *Communist Manifesto*. Indeed Marx, Engels, and later Lenin, spent much of their time denouncing German 'revisionists'.

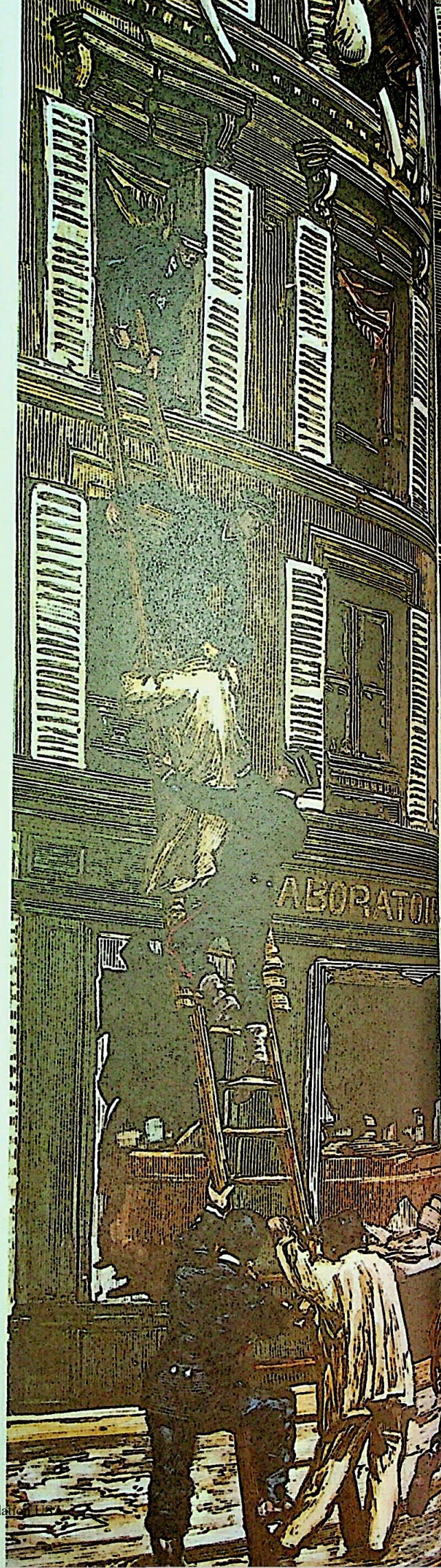
Syndicalism in France

France's trade unions or *syndicats* were much more radical than those of Germany. The recognition of trade unions by Jules Ferry's brilliant government of 1883 was followed in 1886 by the formation of the Fédération Nationale des Syndicats. This was strongly Marxist, and suspicious of previous labour activity through the existing political machinery, though its leader Jules Guesde did not extend this ban to the Fédération itself. But early progress was slow. Ferry's law of 1884 forbade the formation of unions among state employees, which included the important railway workers. There was bitter and sometimes violent opposition to unions at all levels of French society. At the end of the century less than 600,000 French workers held union cards.

Much of this weakness was due to disunity. The unions not only included men like Guesde, but those interested in using them as workers' friendly societies, which could administer funds or relief during periods of unemployment or sickness. These were the aims of the Bourses de Travail set up in 1887 and federated five years later, though they could also be used as bases for much more radical anarchist or 'syndicalist' agitation. Although the Bourses joined in a new nationale organisation, the Confédération Générale de Travail (C.G.T.), in 1902, this division was to bedevil unity in the French movement for many years.

The more radical unionists also made the creation of any wide workers' front difficult because of their tactically wise refusal to accept any concessions from bourgeois or 'opportunist' politicians. They felt that any such acceptance could only weaken the genuine radical labour opposition. In fact French statesmen in general were still haunted by memories of the radical 'Commune' of 1871, and any concessions made were moderate. They were also badly received. When the socialist Alexandre Millerand became secretary of commerce in 1899, his sell-out to bourgeois politicians was seen in labour circles as direct treachery. Not even his creation of a new labour department, his extension of minimum wage and maximum hour legislation to all public employees, and his institution of the eleven-hour day restored his good reputation.

The French labour movement, then, was more militant than those of Britain and Germany. In 1906, the C.G.T. reaffirmed its faith in the general strike in the Charter of



*To the middle classes, anarchism appeared to involve a series of senseless outrages against life and property.
 Right: survivors are rescued from a dynamited building in 1892.
 Above: an anarchist bomb explodes in the French Chamber of Deputies, 1893.
 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*



it made rapid gains and had about 800,000 members by the end of the decade. An increasing number of these members were Marxist socialists, who were gaining at the expense of the followers of Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon was the self-educated son of a French barrel-maker, who had become a printer by trade. He had won a large section of European labour over to a belief in attacking capitalism through workers' education and the formation of worker-owned cooperatives. The threat of the Proudhonites, however, was not as great as that of the anarchists.

Bakunin

The leader of the anarchist attack on the Marxists was Count Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin, the greatest of the Russian aristocratic revolutionaries. A complete nonconformist among nonconformists, one of his leaders in the Paris revolt of 1848 had exclaimed of him—'What a man! The first day of the revolution he is a perfect treasure, but on the next day he ought to be shot'. It is likely that Turgenev modelled the character of the dedicated revolutionary Insarov in *On the Eve* on his close friend Bakunin. After 1848, he spent eight years in jail in Saxony. The Saxons handed him over to the Russians, who in turn sent him to Siberia. Predictably, he escaped, via China, and sailed from Yokohama in Japan to the United States, and thence to London.

His hopes of replacing all state agencies with self-governing workers' communes horrified Marxists, who thought in terms of rigidly centralised proletarian revolution. But his ideas appealed in countries where

Above: another dynamiting in 1892.

Right: an electoral squib shows the vicious anti-semitism of the French right in the eighteen-nineties, closely connected with the Dreyfus Affair. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

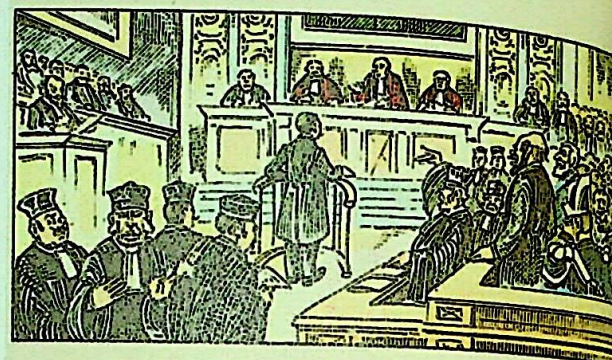
there was little hope of revolution as Marx understood it, and less of constitutional gain. When Bakunin and his followers appeared at the 1869 Congress of the International, they received strong support from Swiss, Spanish, and Italian delegates, but were spurned by the French, Germans, and British.

Bakunin clearly intended to cut the International loose from the 'German authoritarianism' of Marx, and he and his friend Nechaev worked hard to gain support. The confused network of even more confused secret societies they formed are bitterly satirised in Dostoevski's *The Possessed*. The anarchists were expelled from the International in 1872, but their opposition was so great that the organisation fell apart. Although Marx cleverly moved the remnants of the International's headquarters to New York, it was dead by 1874.

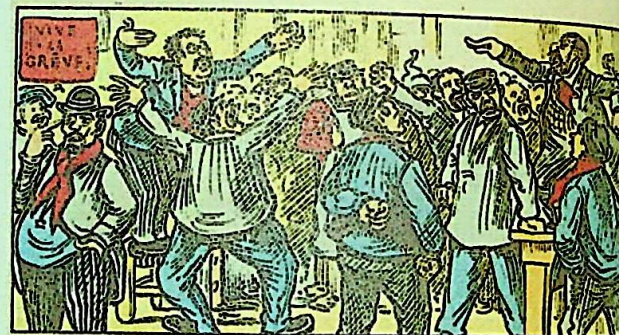
The Second International

Bakunin died in 1876 and Marx in 1883, but the European labour movement remained as disunited as ever. However, at least the trade unions made steady progress, and the earliest socialist parties were founded in the 'eighties. In 1889 delegates from all the European nations met in Paris to form the Second International. Among them were

Élections Législatives SI VOUS ÊTES UN



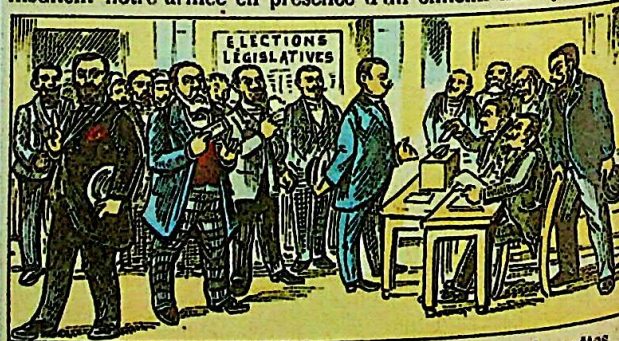
Ne votez à aucun prix ni pour les Panamistes, ni pour ceux qui les ont protégés.



Ne votez à aucun prix pour les entrepreneurs de grèves qui se font des rentes sur le dos des travailleurs.



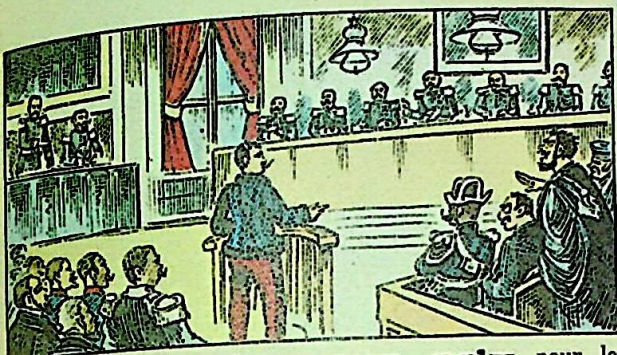
Ne votez à aucun prix pour les Sans-Patrie qui prêchent la haine du glorieux Drapeau et insultent notre armée en présence d'un ennemi menaçant.



Votez tous pour les candidats honnêtes et sincères qui défendront à la Chambre la France et la République.

GLUCQ. 76.

atives de 1902
VRAI FRANÇAIS,



Ne votez à aucun prix pour les candidats Dreyfusards, défenseurs d'un traître juif justement condamné **deux fois** par le Conseil de Guerre.



Ne votez à aucun prix pour ceux qui ne voient dans la glorieuse Légion d'Honneur qu'une monnaie courante pour payer les bijoux et les robes de leurs femmes.



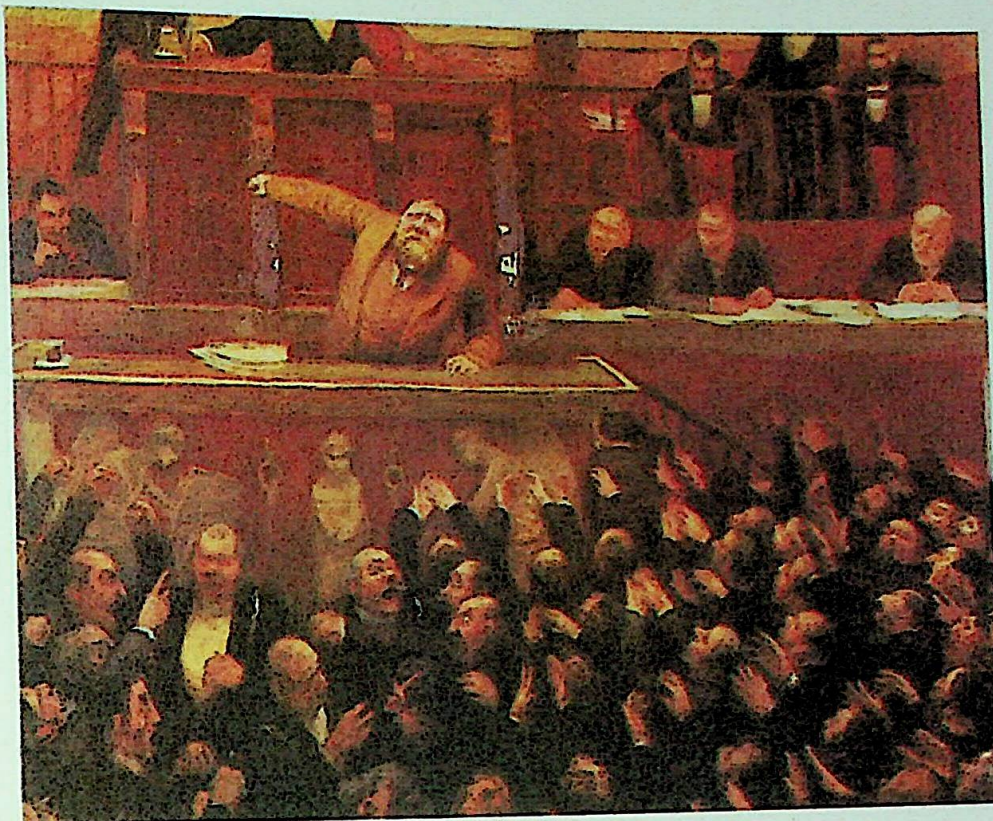
Ne votez à aucun prix pour les Juifs ou les Franos-Maçons qui nous volent, qui nous pillent, et se sauvent ensuite à l'Étranger avec nos économies.

Electeurs!

La FRANCE avant TOUT!!

Vous voterez tous pour

Jeune de la Grande Armée, PARIS — Propagande Politique et Industrielle par l'Image populaire



Above: Weber's painting, from the Musée Carnavalet in Paris, shows the great socialist, Jean Jaurès, in action. He was assassinated in 1914 because of his attitude to the prospect of war with Germany.

the Scottish socialist Keir Hardie and the German 'revisionist' Eduard Bernstein. Their programme was simple. They announced that they would work for universal suffrage and better working conditions, and hold a one-day token strike on May Day of each year. What they did not do was provide any permanent organisation or office, and this was only set up in Brussels in 1900.

The Second International had learned enough from past experience to try to exclude anarchists, although its inaugural meetings were frequently interrupted by the Italian Bakuninite Dr Merlino, who sneaked in, in various disguises, and jumped up to shout abuse at the organisers at most of the sessions. Anarchists or no, the International continued to waste effort in bitter disagreements. Even when it was formed in Paris, there were two rival conferences there to celebrate the centenary of the revolution of 1789. The regular Marxist/trade unionist one eventually formed the International, while the other one was a meeting of 'possibilist' or opportunist socialists ready to work through existing parties. Yet all these elements had to be incorporated in the International if it was to remain a working force.

The new threat was not anarchism but 'revisionism'; the assumption that working class prosperity and growing capitalist

strength had now indefinitely postponed the revolution. The new role of the labour movement was thus to have wages raised, and force concessions on suffrage and working conditions from liberal politicians.

Since the British were never fully integrated into the International, due to the peculiar form of their socialism, the main spokesmen for the revisionists were the Germans. Their leaders Eduard Bernstein and August Bebel became the main opponents of the orthodox Marxists. Given German success in liberal politics, it was easy for them to illustrate their arguments from their own experience. Sure of their success through constitutional means, they even stuck to the damaging slogan, 'the general strike is general nonsense!'. The Marxists were championed by the Frenchman Jules Guesde, now leader of the Parti Ouvrier Français. (P.O.F.), so that the argument fell partly along nationalist lines. Each annual conference of the International ended in a violent exchange of insults connected with this division of policy.

However, the national socialist movements were in many cases divided internally as well. Even in Britain, where the working class vote apparently made revolution unnecessary, the Social Democratic Federation remained independent from the Labour Party to take a revolutionary position. The situation was far worse in France, where socialists had been debating Millerand's betrayal in joining the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet since 1899. Guesde's attacks on the relatively mild Jaurès, with his belief in constitutional action, produced conflicts which reduced the movement's meetings to what Briand called 'annual scissions'.

In Russia, Lenin's chief opponent in the years before 1917 was the revisionist Karl Kautsky. Indeed Kautsky replaced Bernstein as the European leader of the revisionists. The International was still prostrated by this disagreement when its unity finally disappeared in debate over the question of whether socialist parties should support their governments in the First World War.

Hopes of organising a European revolution against the masters of the industrial system had faded. Socialist goals had not been abandoned, but it was increasingly felt that these could be reached by peaceful methods. In the first decade of the century, socialist parties and trade unions had become genuine powers which could exert genuine pressure within the capitalist structure of society. The future lay not with violent revolutionaries, but with Bernstein's revisionists, or so it seemed until the stress of war made the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 possible.

Meanwhile, revisionism was all the more attractive because it did not involve abandoning national loyalties. The 1912 Conference of the International rejected a French resolution that the weapon of the general strike should be used to prevent a capitalist war. This involved an admission that direct and violent action had been given up in favour of 'evolutionary socialism'. But it also made it clear that for a majority of European socialists loyalty to the small unit of the state came before loyalty to the wider unit of the working class. The long fragmented Second International finally collapsed under the additional strain of the 1914-18 War. It was hard to talk of class brotherhood when socialist politicians from Britain and Germany had voted for taxes to fight against one another.

Clerical liberalism

The difficulties of the Second International were not wholly its own fault. The increasingly liberal capitalist system had simply acted to give timely concessions which would dampen the ardour of a large section of the socialist rank and file. The working class vote and the improvements in conditions of labour in the factories were reforms which blunted the revolutionary impulse. Yet they left the essential structure of European society unchanged. There was still a class of very rich men in control of industry, and with real power over the lives of the great mass of those poorer than themselves.

Changes were being made so that the position of the upper-middle and even middle classes might be preserved from attacks from below. This is nowhere more evident than in the attitude of the churches towards reform. The Catholic Church in particular began to campaign for concessions to labour after the death of Pius Nono

in 1878. No doubt there was sincere humanitarianism in the new radicalism which appeared among churchmen. But they also hoped that workmen could be kept close to Christianity by diverting their attention from the appeals of atheistic socialists.

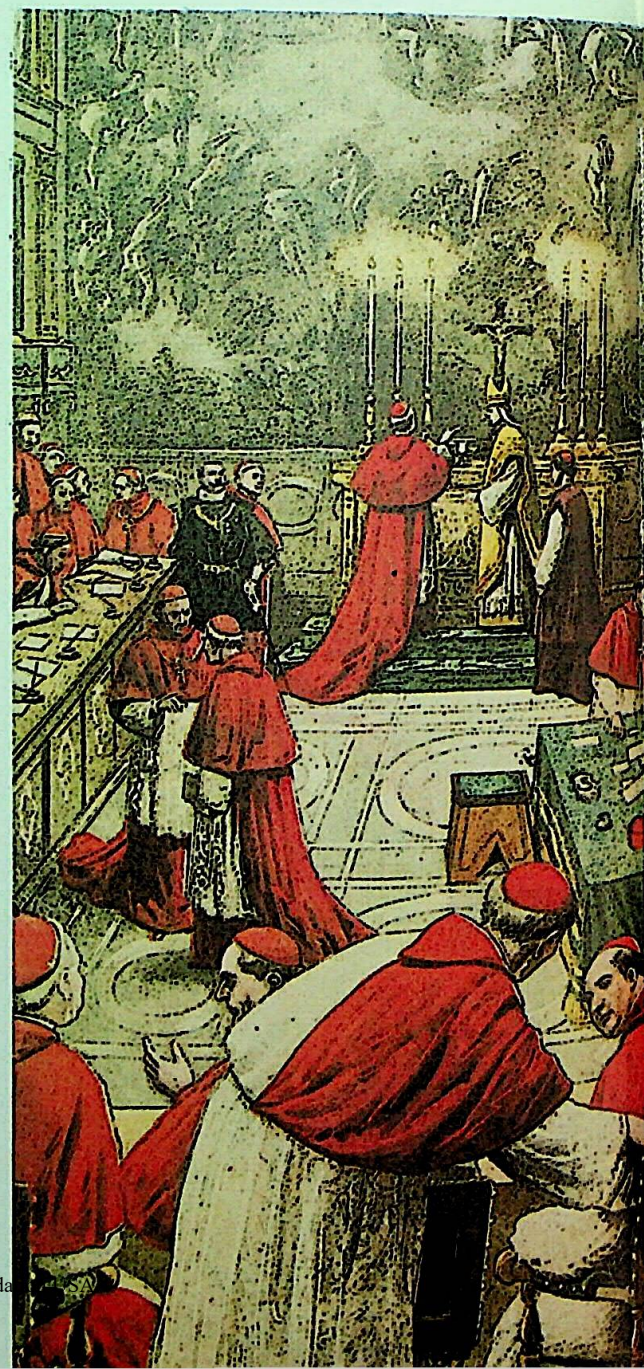
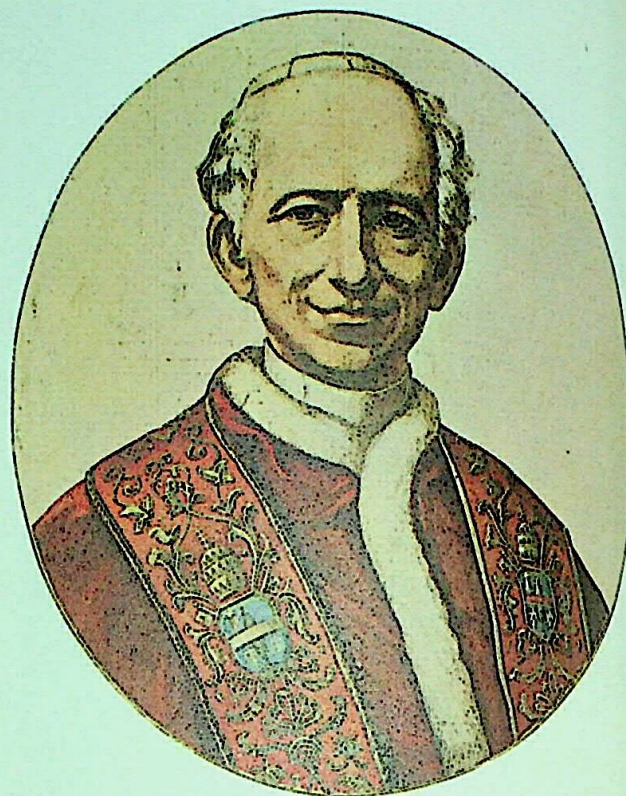
Pius IX

Prior to this, however, the Catholic Church had passed through an extraordinary period of medieval reaction during the long pontificate of Pius IX. Although he had become pope as a relatively young man, it had only taken two years of exposure to the startling radicalism of the Italian nationalists to drive him into dogged opposition to all reform, political or theological. After his flight from Rome in 1848, he became one of the most important supporters of the old order in Italy and throughout Europe. His conservatism deeply affected his theology. In 1854, in the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, he took it upon himself to outline the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. This meant reviving a mystical aspect of Catholicism which was naturally under attack in an increasingly scientific age.

Even more archaic was Pius' insistence on reaffirming the doctrine of papal infallibility, a standpoint also open to rational doubt. Finally, he succeeded in antagonising nationalists throughout the Catholic world through his 'ultramontane' assumptions on the power of the papacy over the individual national churches. Until his death in 1878, he was involved in a bitter struggle with the 'Gallican' Catholics, who insisted that each bishop should be given a degree of independence within his diocese.

Vatican attitudes to reform in general during Pius' pontificate were summarised in his encyclical *Quanta Cura* and his 'Syllabus of the Principal Errors of our Age' (1864). Nationalism, liberalism, socialism, doctrinal revision, and above all the toleration of these errors, were roundly condemned. European liberals were horrified, and their opposition in some cases merged with that of the Gallican faction, who denied papal infallibility in matters of dogma. These they considered should be settled only by councils of the church. It was in response to the conservatism of Pius IX that Bismarck launched his *Kulturkampf* ('struggle of civilisations') against the Vatican.

Catholicism was not alone in reacting so strongly against the rapid changes of the modern world by attempting to shut them out. If anything the Protestant churches found themselves under even more severe attack from the new scientific thinkers, particularly those who accepted Darwin. Later, some clerical theorists were to adapt to the post-Darwinian world by arguing that the Protestant Christian nations had survived as being the fittest, and that their duty was to rule other races and religions—including



the Catholics—who had been less blessed in the struggle for existence. 'Social Darwinism' also provided a rationalisation for supporting the capitalist system, since it apparently proved that those who became richest were those who had been most able to adapt to the conditions of modern life and at the same time were the most scrupulous in applying religious ideals to their business life.

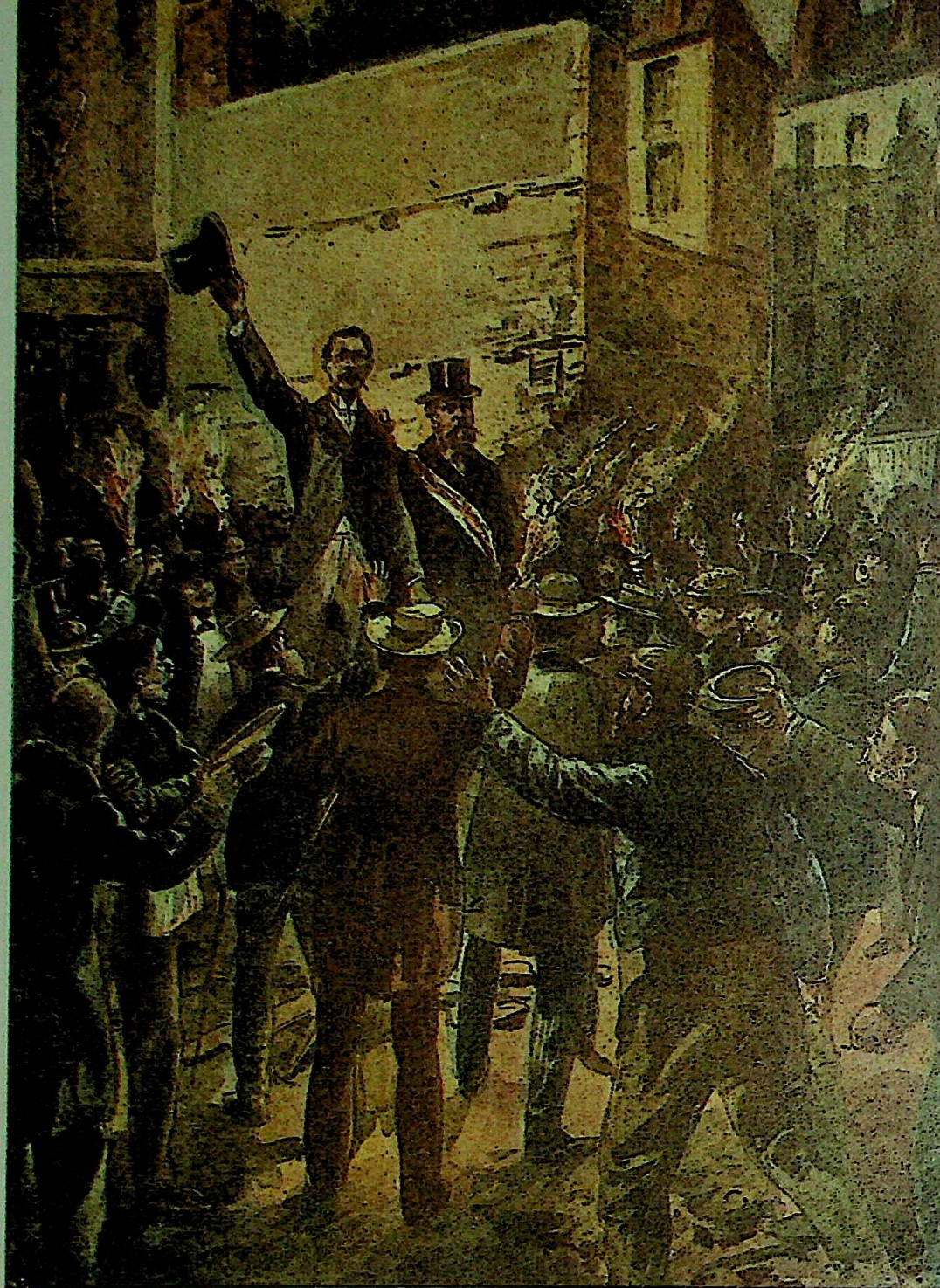
The first Protestant reaction to Darwin, however, was much more critical. His removal of God from the history of the world provoked ministers into a horrified rejection of his heresies. Their first instinct was to combat his ideas by falling back on fundamentalism, and arguing that since the literal reading of the Bible contradicted the *Origin of Species*, Darwin's conclusions were wrong if not actually sinful. The same kind of uncompromising opposition to a new intellectual movement appears in both Catholic and Protestant responses to the rise of socialism. At first it was regarded as an atheistic system which had to be attacked root and branch.



Above left: Leo XIII tried to ease Rome away from the arid regime of Pio Nono, and adapt the Church to the modern world. His policy was in turn reversed by Pius X, whose election the conclave of cardinals are seen discussing (left). As anti-clericalism grew, so too did old-fashioned faith in the Church. Below: a Marseilles crowd acclaims friars from a disbanded monastery. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Above: Daumier's lithograph, Businessman and Worker, summarises the socialist view of the nineteenth century. Class divisions have become sharper, but the worker prepares for the future. The businessman prepares for his dinner. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





Leo XIII

It was perhaps because such a frontal attack was failing so conspicuously that the churches set about offering counter-attractions to socialism. If social reform could not be avoided, the most constructive plan was to carry it out freed from its atheistic connections, and under the supervision of liberal churchmen. This was most obvious in the case of the Catholic Church, under Pius IX's brilliant successor, Leo XIII. Encouraged by this versatile and charming man, liberal Catholics who had been repressed by Pio Nono turned to destroying the appeal of socialism by improving the conditions of the working class in the Catholic nations of Europe. Working along with the rising liberal parties, they also organised extensive programmes of workers' education, which were intended to spread the belief that substantial reform could be

achieved without abandoning religion.

Leo XIII himself set the new liberal Catholicism in perspective. His Bull *Immortale Dei*, of 1885, allowed French Catholics to co-operate with the Third Republic, which had previously been disavowed by the Vatican. With more far-reaching effects, the Bull *Rerum Novarum* called for concessions to the new mass working class . . . 'the more that is done for the benefit of the working classes by the general laws of the country, the less need will there be for special means to relieve

Above: in France men like Marc Sanguier (seen here haranguing a crowd) tried to bring the Catholic Church to the workers, following the progressive ideas of Pope Leo XIII. But Sanguier's movement was condemned by the reactionary Pius X. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

them'. The new pope even encouraged the Catholics of southern Germany to conciliate Bismarck in the hope of destroying the appeal of the *Kulturkampf*. It was only with Leo's death in 1903, and the election of Pius X, that Rome began to retreat from its position as a major force in international liberal politics. Pius X, like Pius IX, spent the rest of his life waging war against 'modernism', excommunicating large numbers of liberal Catholics to do so. Unlike Leo XIII, he was quite prepared to abandon the working classes to the socialists. Since his own theology was not far removed from that of the thirteenth-century scholar St Thomas Aquinas, it is not surprising that his Bull *Pascendi* condemned 'modernism' as 'the synthesis of all other heresies'.

The Protestant churches were not so unfortunate as to pass through such a period of reaction. In Britain middle-class nonconformists formed the backbone of the Liberal Party, and by and large remained in it until its collapse after the First World War.

The expansion of Europe

Protestant and Catholic churches alike shared the strengthening missionary impulse which sent their most devoted clergymen to the corners of the earth. No doubt this filtered off many of the most enterprising young men in Europe's theological colleges, and diverted their attention from more radical movements at home. But the missionaries of the late nineteenth century were also centrally important in the 'new imperialism'. In one sense this simply involved the annexation of the heathen part of the globe by the Christian part. Indeed all the rapid changes which have been described here reinforced the burst of European expansion overseas after 1884. The changing Church produced evangelical missionaries, the rising population provided prospective emigrants. A strengthened industrial system, working through the new nation states, began to look overseas for new markets, sources of raw materials, and opportunities for profitable investment. Medical improvements made life in the tropics tolerable, while Europe's new technology made light of primitive resistance. Better links by rail and sea provided the communications essential to expanding empires. The net result, over the space of a few years, was the extension of Western rule throughout the world. It may even be that the rivalries which the nations formed overseas were important causes of the Great War of 1914.

Even the critics of the new industrial order had a part to play in the history of the expansion of Europe. When the colonies of the 1900s became the emerging nations of the 'fifties, their ideology was largely drawn from European socialist thought. All in all, the late nineteenth century was the time when the world became recognisable as the one we live in today.

THE MARCH OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Politics in the West	Industry, labour, and technology	Politics in the wider world
1815		Raffles acquires Singapore (1819) British occupation of Rangoon (1824) British claim all Australia (1829)
	Stockton and Darlington Railway (1825)	
1830	Revolutions throughout Europe	
	Darwin's voyage on the <i>Beagle</i> (1831) Opening of Lyons-St Etienne line begins French railway construction (1831) Faraday invents dynamo (1832) Robert Owen founds Grand National Consolidated Trade Union (1833)	
English Reform Act (1832) Emancipation of slaves in British colonies (1833) Formation of Zollverein (1834)		Great Trek (1836) Opium War breaks out (1839)
1840		Treaty of Nanking begins 'Era of Concessions' (1842)
	Elias Howe invents sewing machine (1846)	
English Corn Law Repeal (1846) Pius IX becomes pope (1846) Year of revolutions (1848) Victor Emmanuel takes Piedmontese crown (1849)		California annexed by U.S.A. (1848) Livingstone's first journey (1849)
1850		Taiping Revolt begins (1851)
	Great Exhibition in London (1851)	
Cavour takes office (1852) French Second Empire proclaimed (1852) Outbreak of Crimean War (1853) Garibaldi returns to Italy (1854) Paris Peace Conference (1856)	Isolation of aluminium (1854) Bessemer Converter introduced (1856)	Commodore Perry arrives in Japan (1853) 'Arrow' War (1856) Indian Mutiny (1857) Peace of Tientsin ends 'Arrow' War (1858) French take Saigon (1858)
Orsini Plot (1858) Pact of Plombières (1858) First Austro-Italian War (1859)	Brunel's <i>Great Eastern</i> built (1858) Atlantic Telegraph Cable laid (1858) <i>Origin of Species</i> published (1859)	

Politics in the West	Industry, labour, and technology	Politics in the wider world
1860		
Garibaldi's Sicilian campaign	Siemens-Martin smelting process perfected	Russia seizes Vladivostock
Russian serf emancipation by Tsar Alexander II (1861)		
First Italian parliament (1861)		
American Civil War breaks out (1861)		
Cavour dies (1861)		Speke proves his and Burton's findings on source of Nile (1862)
Bismarck takes office (1862)		Cambodia becomes a French protectorate (1863)
Polish revolt (1863)		
American emancipation proclamation (1863)		
Prussia fights Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein (1864)	Pius IX promulgates <i>Syllabus Errorum</i> (1864)	
	First International (1864)	
	Lister introduces antiseptics (1865)	
Austro-Prussian War, Battle of Sadowa (1866)		Rholfe crosses the Sahara (1867)
Roman Revolt (1867)		
North German Confederation formed (1867)		
	First Trades Union Congress (1868)	Meiji Restoration in Japan (1868)
	Suez Canal opened (1869)	
	Mendeleev's classification of elements (1869)	
	First electric motor (1869)	
	American transcontinental railroad track completed (1869)	
		Massacre of Catholics at Tientsin
Hohenzollern candidacy		
1870 Franco-Prussian War, Battle of Sedan		
Rome capital of a united Italy		
Second Reich proclaimed (1871)		Livingstone and Stanley meet at Ujiji (1871)
Communards rule Paris (1871)		
	Anarchists expelled from International (1872)	
	Gotha Programme for German labour (1875)	British buy Suez (1875)
Leo XIII becomes pope (1878)		Queen Victoria becomes empress of India (1876)
	Edison electric lamp (1879)	

Politics in the West	Industry, labour, and technology	Politics in the wider world
1880		
	Siemens electric tramcar in use (1881)	De Brazza extends explorations in the Congo
	Death of Marx (1883)	Boer revolt breaks out (1881)
Berlin Conference on Colonies (1884)	Parsons steam turbines applied to shipping (1884)	British bombard Alexandria and occupy Egypt (1882)
	American Federation of Labour founded (1886)	Germans seize Togoland (1883)
Negro slavery ended in Brazil (1888)		Berlin Conference prepares for partition of Africa (1884)
		Mahdists take Khartoum (1885)
		Gold discovered in Transvaal (1886)
		French Indo-China is organised (1887)
1890	Second International (1889)	
British Parliamentary Labour Party founded (1893)	World slump (1893)	<i>Union Coloniale</i> formed in France (1893)
	Confédération Générale de Travail founded (1895)	Sino-Japanese War (1894)
	Marconi wireless telegraph invented (1895) French annex Madagascar (1896)	
	Roentgen discovers X-rays (1895)	Jameson Raid increases Anglo-Boer tension (1896)
Spanish American War (1898)		French annex Madagascar (1896)
		Fashoda Incident (1898)
		U.S.A. gains Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico (1898)
		Outbreak of Boer War (1899)
1900		
		Boxer Rebellion
		Peace of Vereeniging ends Boer War (1902)
	Orville Wright's first flight (1903)	
	Trans-Siberian Railroad completed (1904)	Russo-Japanese War (1904)
First Russian Revolution (1905)	Charter of Amiens (1906)	
First <i>Duma</i> (parliament) meets in Russia (1906)	Santos-Dumont makes first European flight (1906)	
Algeciras Conference strengthens Anglo-French ties (1906)	Stock market recession (1907)	British and Russian zones in Tibet Afghanistan, Persia, settled (1907)
Anglo-Russian Entente (1907)		French occupy Casablanca (1907)
	Blériot crosses the Channel (1909)	
Second Moroccan crisis (1911)		
Sarajevo and First World War (1914)		



The new imperialism

Europe's colonial ambitions accelerate as competition grows for lucrative new markets; the British aim to control a line of territory from Cape Town to Cairo leads to the Boer War; the 'scramble' for Africa; only the mutual jealousies of the Western powers keep them from dividing China amongst themselves.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the overseas policies of the Western nations changed dramatically. Where they had once struggled to gain concessions and bases for trade, they now set about annexing swathes of territory in Africa and Asia. New anxieties were created with the rise of new nations. Bismarck's united Germany played a central part in the scramble for Africa. In 1898 the United States took its place as an international power by seizing Puerto Rico and the Philippines from Spain.

The old imperial powers, Britain and France, also annexed whatever territory they could. All the Western nations joined in a mad rush to seize unexploited land, often just to prevent other powers getting it. Patriotic enthusiasm supported all annexations, which were also linked to the advances in business and technology which made it essential to find foreign markets. Thus it was that in western Europe patriotism and industrialism combined to produce the 'new imperialism'.

Europe, Africa and Asia

Whatever was new about the new imperialism, there was also much about it that was old. Europe had been expanding ever since the Crusades, or even earlier. The great Portuguese and Spanish colonists had

Above: Chinese coolies sign on to work in a South African mine. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

first blazed the trail to Asia, Africa, and the New World. The rise of the Dutch in the seventeenth century ruined both their empires, and the Dutch were pushed to the wall in their turn by other powers. We have already seen that the British and French were the dominant nations in China in the first part of the nineteenth century. They also had colonies in the West Indies and Africa, while the British ruled over Canada, India, Australia, and New Zealand. Indeed the history of modern Europe may be seen as a constant struggle between the powers for an empire overseas.

After about 1880, however, the kind of empire which the powers wanted changed. New nations and new industries sought markets and territory overseas, and all Europe became involved in their ambitions. The pace of expansion quickened, its characteristics changed. Nations like Britain and France, which had long been established in Africa, now had to widen their interests to protect themselves from interlopers and each other. In West Africa, for instance, the British had previously been content with owning a few coastal forts. By the end of the century they had annexed all of modern Nigeria and Ghana, and consolidated their settlements in Sierra Leone, and Gambia. Africa was soon dismembered. Asia was only saved from the same fate by a delicate balance between the interests of Japan, now a modern industrial state, and the individual Western powers. America absorbed the remnants of the Spanish Empire. The twentieth century dawned on a world in which little territory was not owned by Japan, the U.S.A., the nations of Europe, or, as in the case of Latin America, their offshoots.

Historians have found it difficult to ex-

plain this sudden burst of expansion. Clearly it is linked with the new needs of industrialism, and with the rise of nationalism. After 1850, too, European population rose sharply, and emigration increased. In the middle of the century peasant emigrants, for instance the Irish displaced by the potato blight, or the Scandinavians and southern Germans, flocked to the U.S.A. and Latin America. After about 1880 a new wave of emigrants left the poorer parts of southern Italy and eastern Europe. Communications had improved and cheapened, and the attractions of the New World as described by shipping companies and American emigration agencies were great.

The European explorers

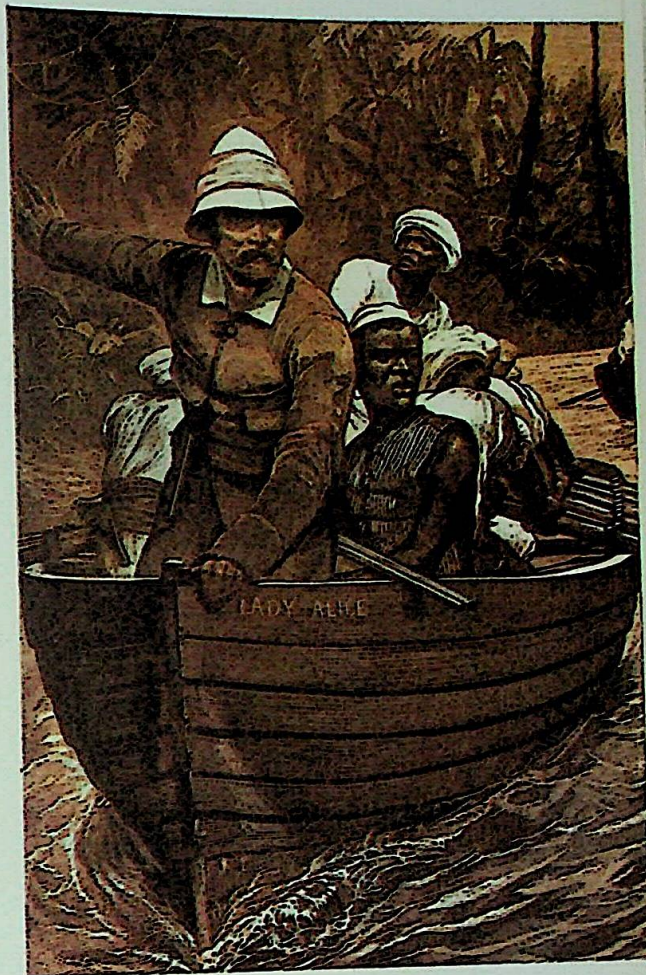
For others, however, the New World had less glamour. Many adventurous young men from the educated classes of the nations involved in the new imperialism set out as explorers, and in the end became the administrators and engineers who opened up the Asian and African territories annexed by the West in the 'eighties and 'nineties.

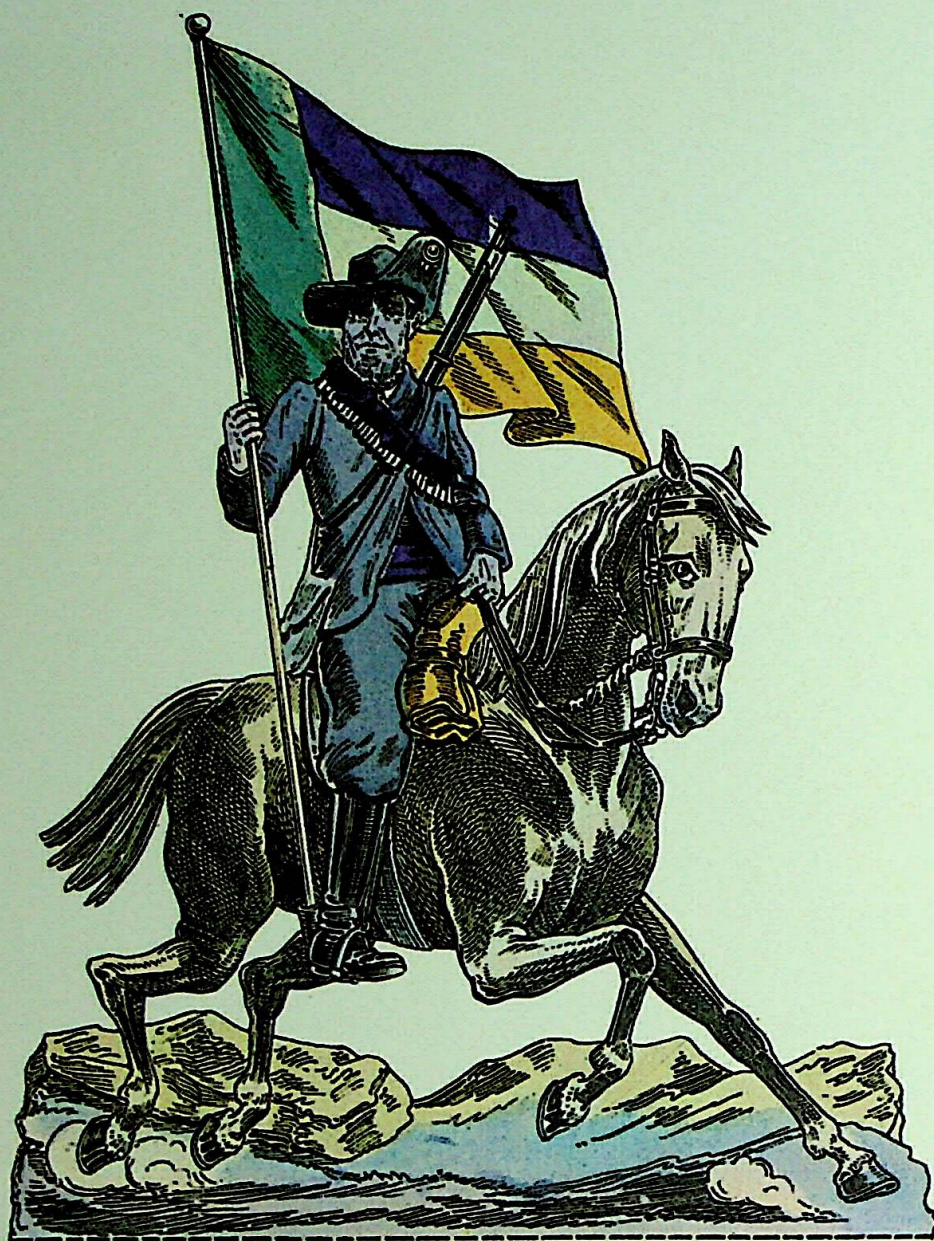
The servants of the new imperialism were a strange mixture of amateurs, soldiers, and evangelists.

Above right: Stanley, the American journalist, on the Congo.

Below: a British officer leads an exploratory mission to Tibet.

Below right: Cardinal Lavigerie and his White Fathers, Catholic missionaries in East Africa. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





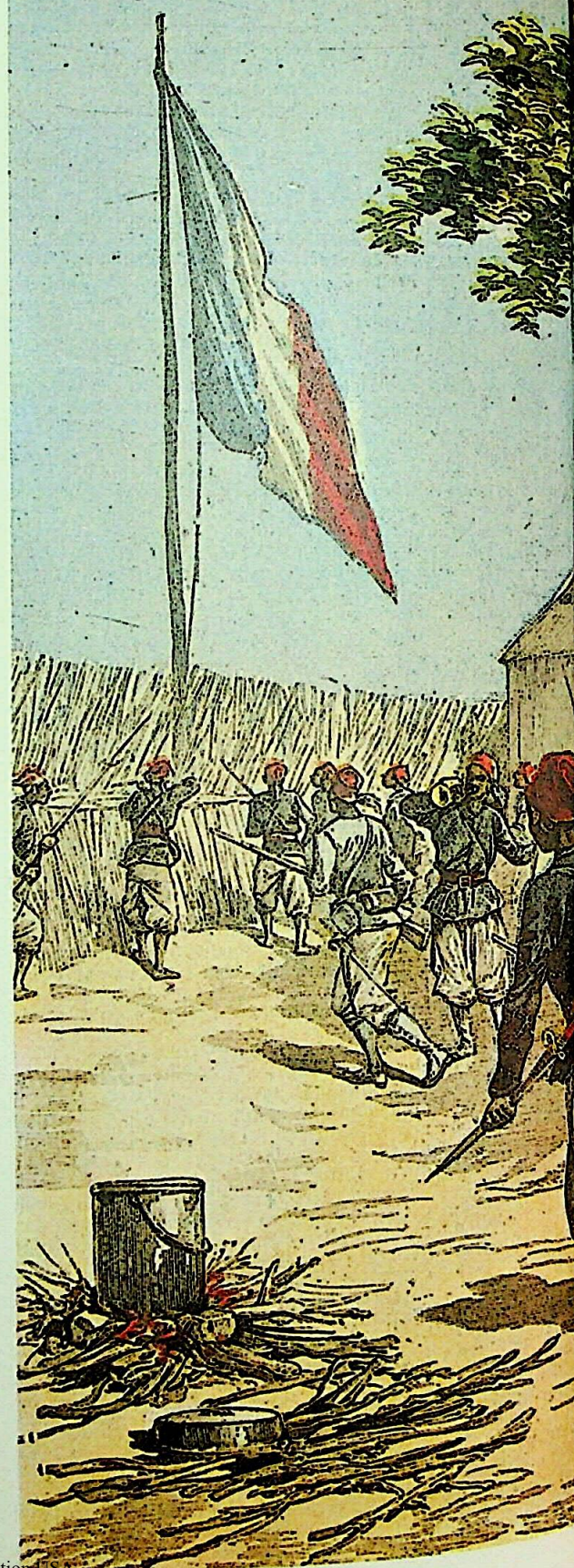
Rising scientific curiosity and the eagerness of such men to travel in unknown areas meant that this was also the period when the parts of the world which remained unexplored were first visited by Europeans. The drive towards exploration was all the stronger since so many Europeans were interested in bringing Christianity to black, brown, and yellow heathens. It is difficult to imagine how the new imperialism would have arisen without the scientific and missionary impulses which encouraged exploration.

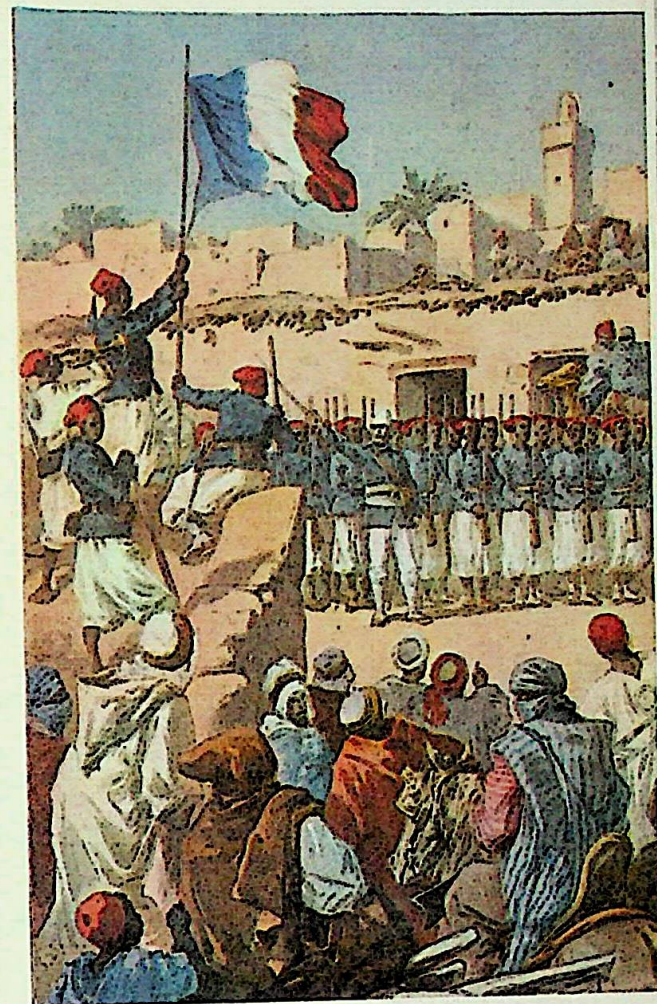
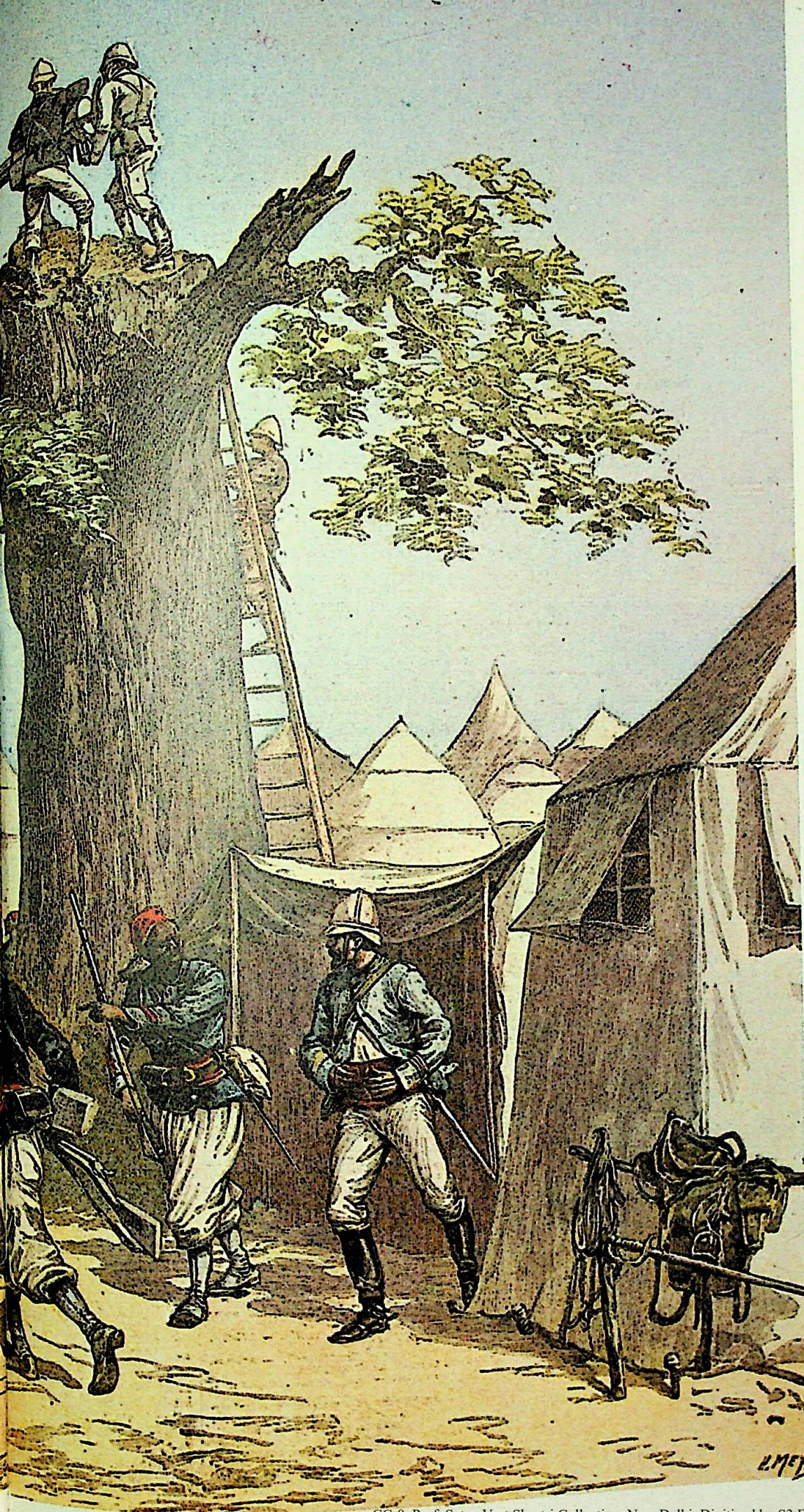
The greatest explorer of all, David Livingstone, well illustrates the complexity of motive of his generation of imperialists. Born in Scotland, he painstakingly scraped money together while working in a Lanarkshire cotton mill, to begin his education and eventually to go to Glasgow University. By the time the London Missionary Society sent him to Africa he had a medical degree as well as strong interests in botany, zoology, and astronomy. A committed abolitionist, he believed that opening Africa to Protestant missionaries would crush the slave trade. This continued in West Africa in spite of the efforts of the British West Africa

Squadron to capture slavers, and flourished more than ever through the East African depot in Zanzibar. He made three main journeys through unexplored Africa from 1849 onwards. On the first he crossed the continent, exploring the course of the Zambesi, and on the second he discovered Lake Nyasa.

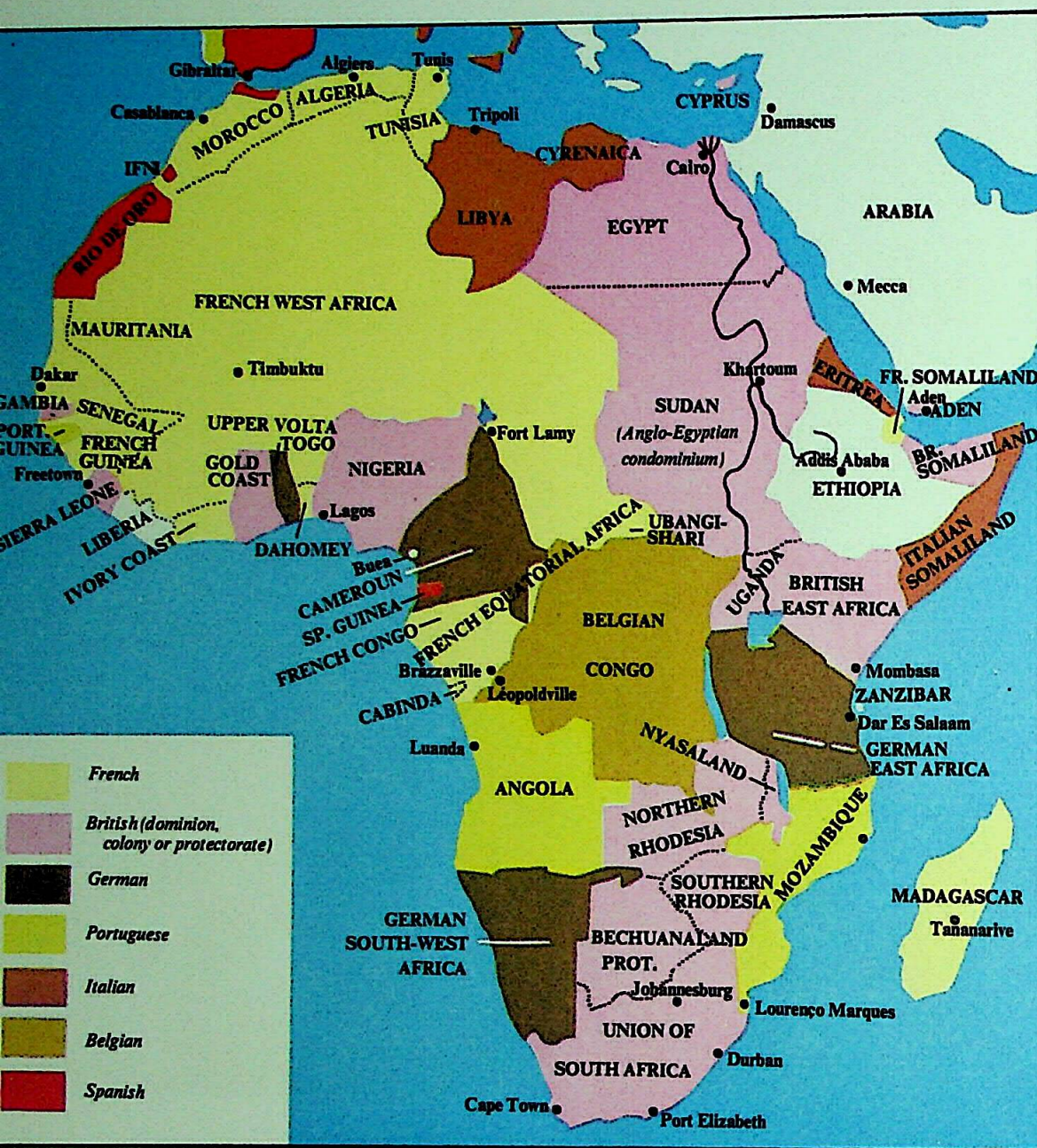
The activities of explorers had become good press, and the whole of Europe and America followed the last journey, which he began in 1868. When he went missing, the *New York Tribune*, a paper which had fought against American slavery and was now the organ of the Republican Party, sent its ace reporter Henry Morland Stanley to look for Livingstone. The search took three years. In 1871, at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, the reporter met a very sick and weary Livingstone with a handshake and the famous though superfluous question, 'Dr. Livingstone, I presume?' Racked with fever, and worn out by his labours, poor Livingstone was found dead by his bearers only two years later, in 1873.

Stanley himself continued the work of exploration, still sending his despatches back to the *Tribune* when he could do so. Travel-

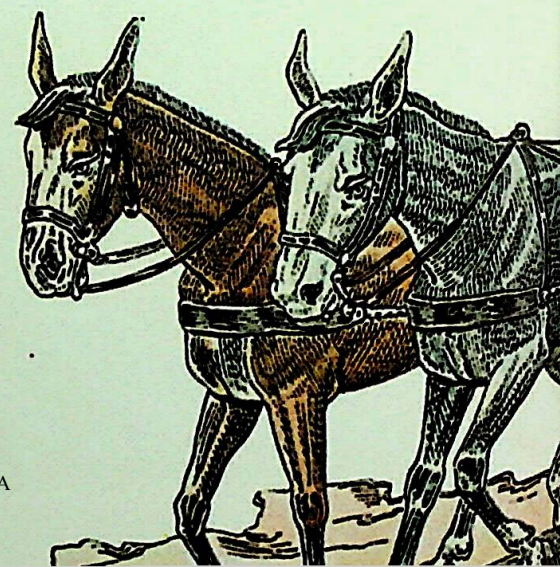
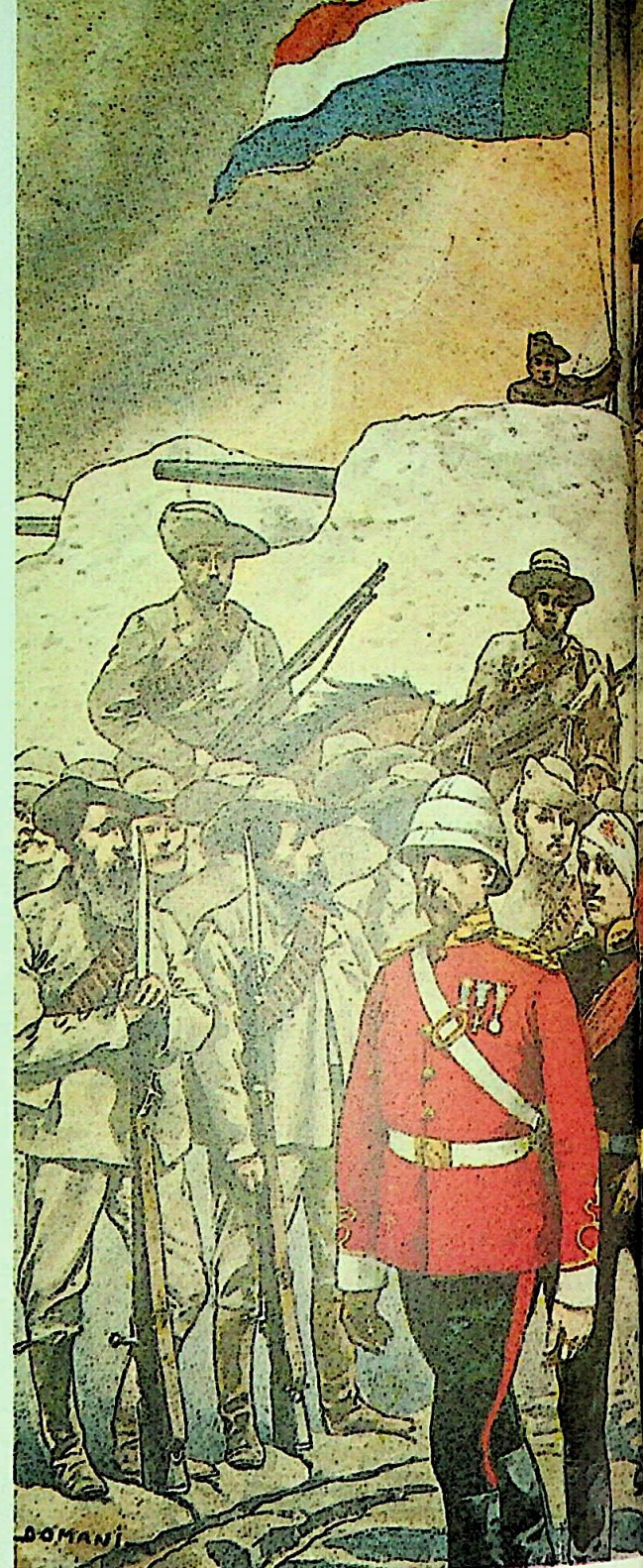


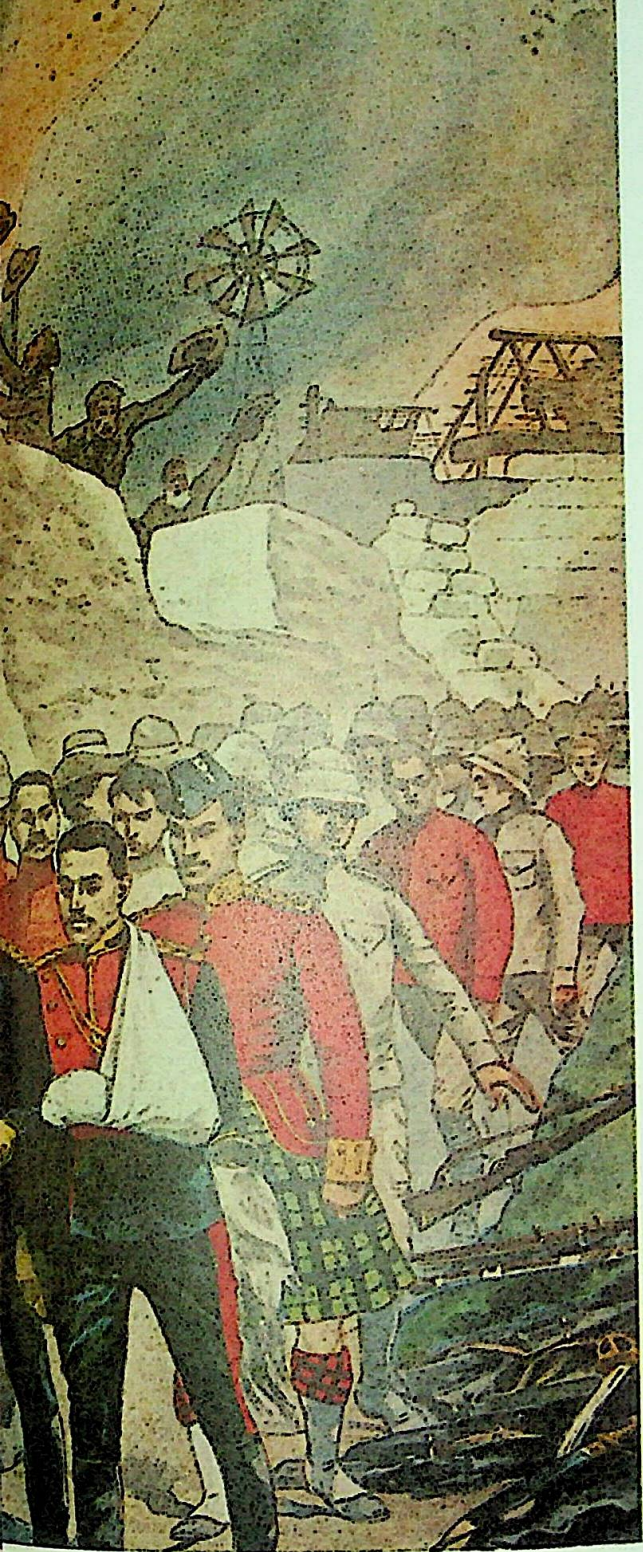


The French dreamed of control over equatorial Africa, the British of communications from Cairo to the Cape. Above: the French occupy Timbuktu in 1893. Above left: a typical fortified encampment. The soldiers are Senegalese infantry, the officer and gunners white Frenchmen. In the south, the British advance was blocked by the Boers. Far left: their light cavalymen were the finest since the era of Genghis Khan. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



The intense European 'scramble' for Africa arose after the final disappearance of the slave-trade in the middle of the nineteenth century. By 1912 only Ethiopia and Liberia were free from European domination or influence.





ling from Zanzibar in the east, he reached the headwaters of the Congo, and followed it down to the coast. Soon afterwards King Leopold of Belgium tried to expand his interests in the Congo, which together with the sudden intervention of Germany, precipitated the 'scramble for Africa'.

The rivers of Africa

Livingstone and Stanley were not the only great travellers of this period. In 1880 the French explorer de Brazza sailed up the Ogooué River from the coast of Gabon, cut across country to the Congo, and founded the post of Brazzaville, later the capital of the French Congo. Before Stanley, Livingstone, and he showed the way into Central Africa, even more attention had been given to trying to discover the sources of the Nile. The riddle of this river had puzzled scholars for generations.

In 1858 the Royal Geographical Society of London sponsored the expedition of Burton and Speke, which discovered the Great Lakes—Tanganyika, Victoria, and Albert. Unfortunately the scholarly world could not believe that the controversy over

the source of the Nile had been settled, and Speke was denounced as a charlatan when he claimed that the river flowed out of a huge lake system in Central Africa. In 1862, however, he was able to prove his point by marching round Lake Victoria Nyanza, finding the outlet of the Nile, and descending it as far as the first cataract. Since the successive expeditions of Mungo Park, Hugh Clapperton, and the Lander brothers had revealed the course of the Niger by 1830, European knowledge of Africa's main river systems was now complete.

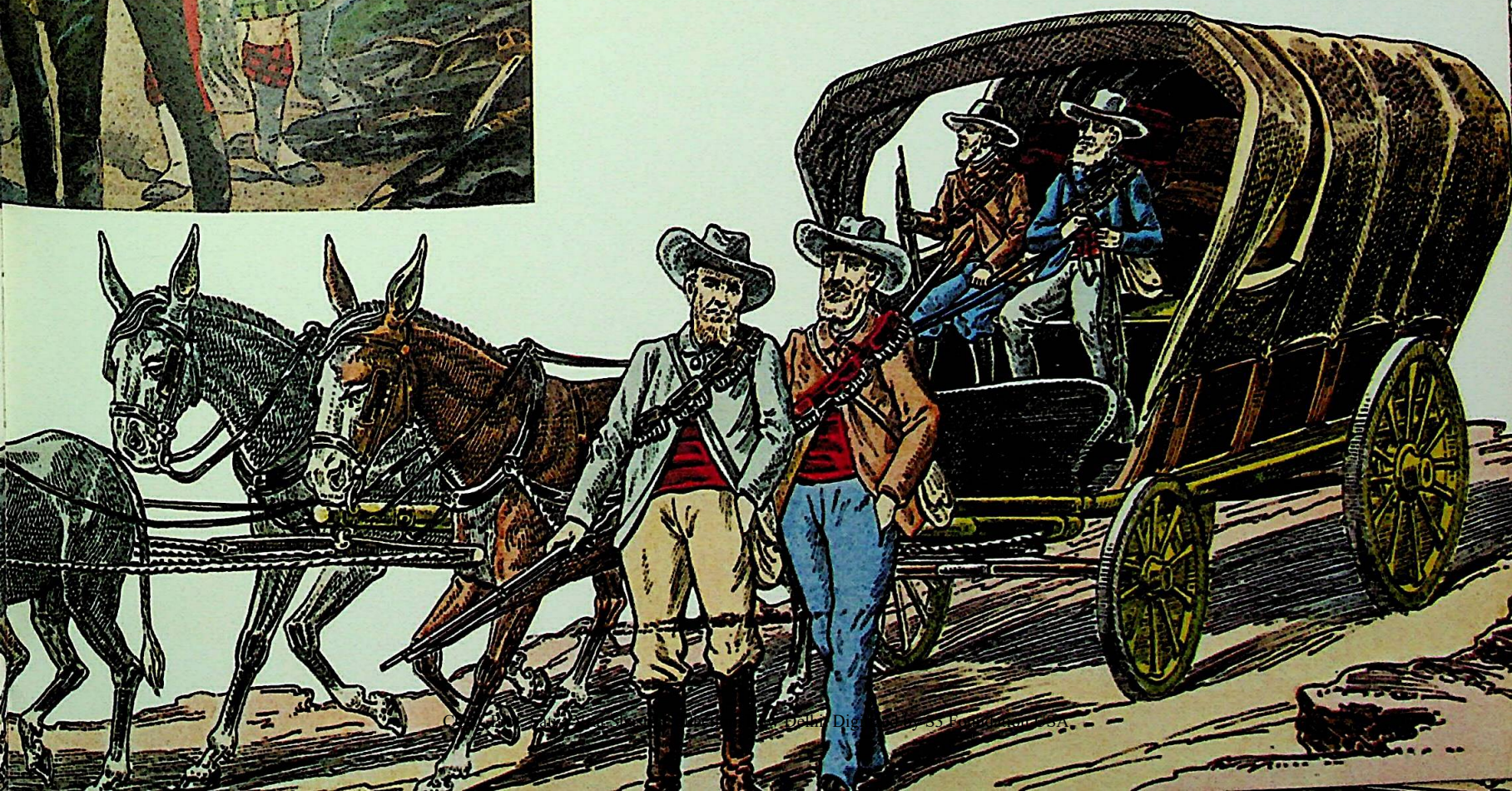
In the late 1860s, the land routes across North Africa and the Sudan were also covered by two Germans, Gerhard Rholfe and Gustave Nachtigal. Rholfe trekked from Tripoli to Conakry in Guinée in 1867. Nachtigal's achievement was to find a route from Libya to Lake Tchad, turn eastwards to Khartoum, and return home down the Nile. The names of such explorers became household words throughout Europe. More important, their work provided enough knowledge of Africa to make penetration possible.

The interior of Asia received less attention from explorers than Africa. However,

The Boers went to war just as the grasslands of the Veldt were ready to feed their horses, and the early stages of the war went badly for Britain.

Left: a British garrison capitulates.

Below: Boer farmers could become soldiers overnight. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



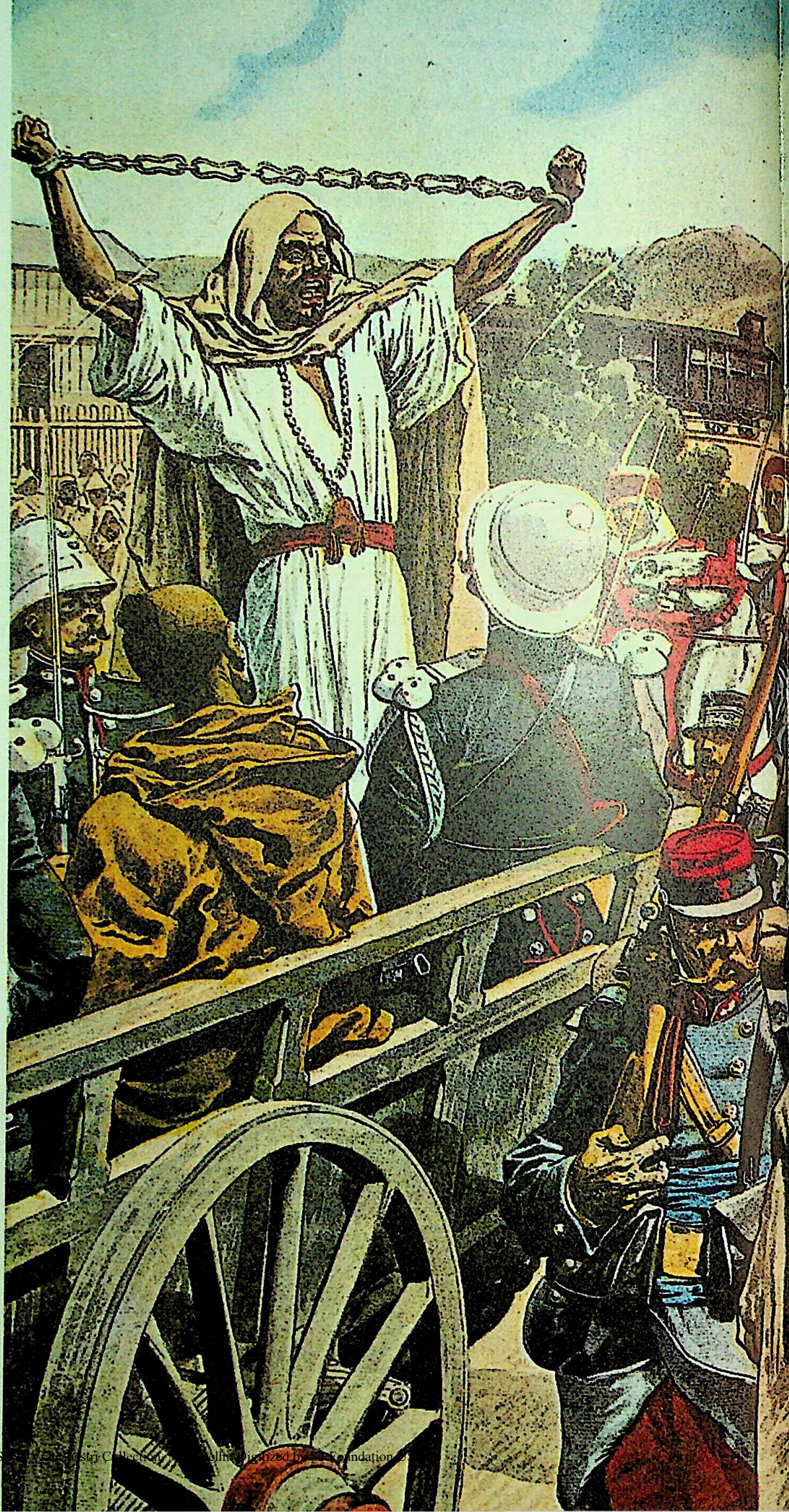


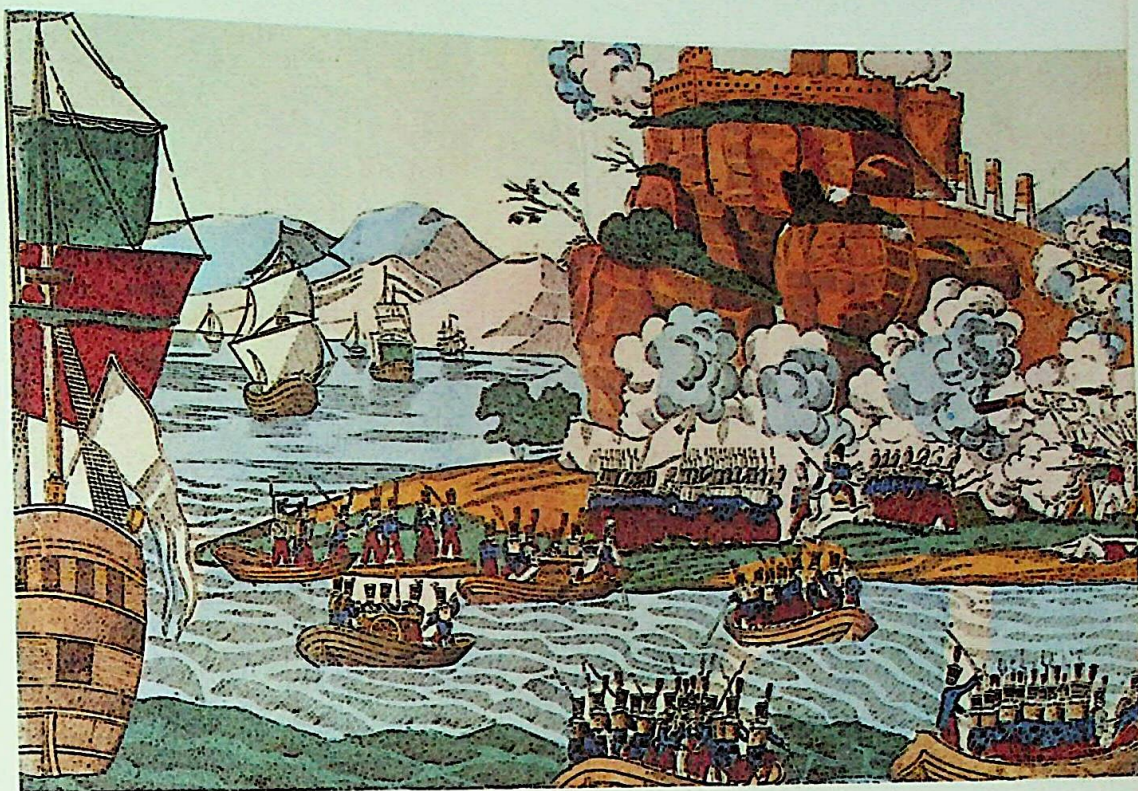
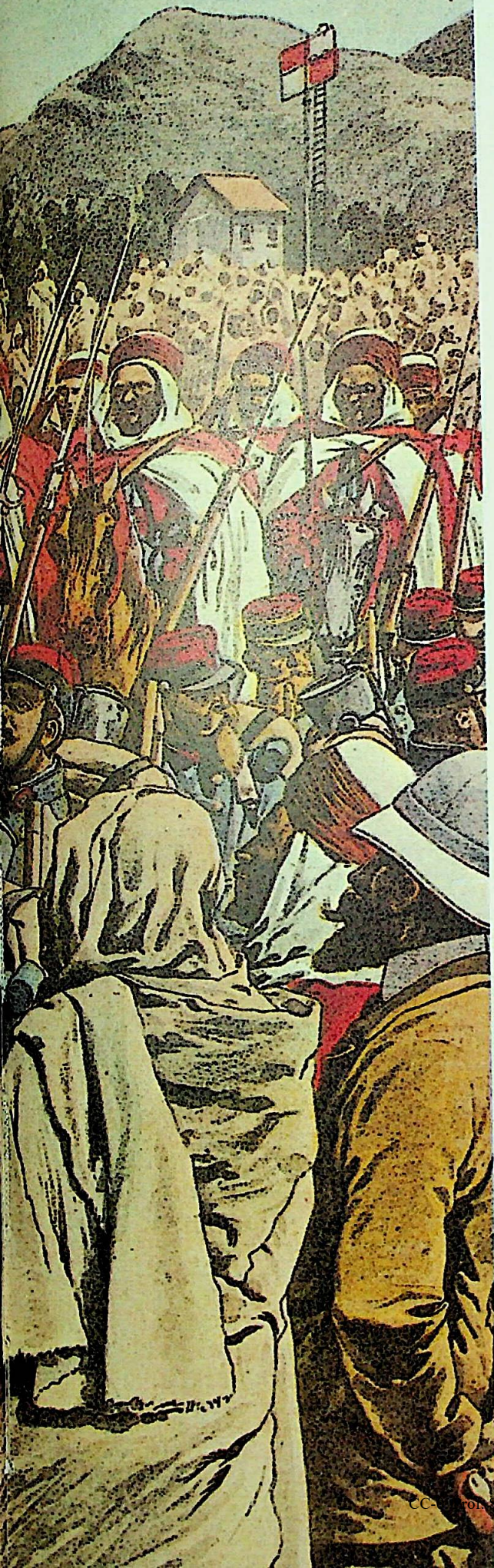
Above: a tribesman presents a bloody voucher for his pay from the French.
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

the imagination of Europeans was stimulated by travel accounts like that of the colourful medical missionary to China, Charles Gutzlaff. After 1870 even more attention was attracted by the voyages of the German traveller Richthofen. Another exploit was Garnier's exploration of South-East Asia. He sailed up the Mekong, discovered the dramatically beautiful ruins of the Kmer palace at Angkor Wat, and penetrated into China's Yünnan Province. The European public heard as much of the heroism of explorers in Asia as it did of those in Africa. The French poet Rimbaud reflected their enthusiasm when he wrote *Le Bateau Ivre* ('The Topsy Turvy Boat'). Indeed Rimbaud himself died while exploring part of Abyssinia. The publicity given to explorations no doubt helped to prepare European voters for later annexation of African and Asian territory.

Motives for imperialism

There were other factors behind the new imperialism, as well as enthusiasm for the exploits of missionaries and explorers. Sometimes events proceeded almost by accident, with ambitious young men on the frontiers of European expansion annexing territory without orders from above. For instance the forward policy of the French in Indo-China was partly moulded by the enthusiasm of Gallieni. A similar case was the initiative of the British officer Frederick Lugard in seizing territory in Uganda.





*Above : the first French attack on Algeria, in 1830. Pacification took many years.
Left : an Algerian bandit goes to the scaffold. Note the railway truck in the background. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*

However, it is unlikely that such men would have received the backing of their governments if deeper forces had not been at work. Sometimes these arose in the territory which was to be conquered, and not in Europe. In West Africa, for instance, traders had to appeal to their governments to move in when the local states on which they had previously relied for protection collapsed under the strain of generations of slave trading. The Boer War was also fought partly for internal reasons. Again, the Russian advance into Manchuria, where tsarist troops eventually clashed with the Japanese, was dictated partly by the need to find a frontier which was settled and stable on the other side. There were also direct economic motives for expansion. V. I. Lenin, the great leader of the Russian revolution, maintained that it arose because capitalism had to find new areas for investment to escape from the problem of over production at home.

The missionary factor

Nevertheless, whatever economic interests were involved, the missionary factor in the new imperialism cannot be overestimated. No doubt some of the enthusiasm of the missionaries was linked with improvements in education which meant there were more young ministers than there were parishes for them to find jobs in. But the missionary

movement was now given new scope among the tens of millions of heathens living in the vast new territories discovered by men like Livingstone and Garnier. The middle classes who had risen because of industrialisation were fervently interested in missions, probably with complete sincerity.

The hope of spreading Christianity was linked with changing attitudes to race. It now appeared possible to fit the non-European races into the framework of *The Origin of Species*. If human history, like natural history, was governed by the survival of the fittest, the races of the West, with their advanced technology, had obviously survived most effectively. Clearly, therefore, their Christian duty was to extend their humane leadership throughout the world. This theory of the 'white man's burden' is best expressed in the poems of the great imperialist poet Rudyard Kipling, or the popular novelist Rider Haggard. A generation of British schoolboys grew up reading these works.

Yet Lenin's theory of a link between capitalism and imperialism is of some importance. As technology advanced, the naval strength of the powers increased, especially in the cases of Japan and Germany. Influenced by the great American theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan, they all considered it essential to have large navies to protect their overseas interests. These interests in turn expanded, as industrial Europe demanded more and more raw materials, and produced more and more goods for which markets had to be found. Spokesmen like Joseph Chamberlain in Britain or Jules Ferry in France could argue that new territory had to be found overseas to stave off the recurrent slumps which



plagued the European nations. There is no single cause which explains the new imperialism. But it may be closely linked to the rapid changes in European industry, technology, and ideas described in the last chapter.

The jingoists

By no means all Western statesmen were in favour of the new imperialism. Bismarck tried to keep Germany out of involvement in Africa and Asia, though his successors reversed this policy. In France, Jules Ferry was ably opposed by nationalists determined to concentrate on revenge against Germany. As for Britain, it has recently been discovered that Lord Salisbury, who was prime minister during the years when Britain annexed most of her new territory, spent his spare time in the 'sixties writing anonymous anti-imperialist articles for the *Saturday Review*—'Love of Empire,' he concluded, 'is inevitably a love of war'.

Joseph Chamberlain and his followers were usually at odds with liberal and conservative leaders alike.

Chamberlain's group were usually called the 'jingoists'. The name comes from a popular song written during the Russo-Turkish War of 1878:

'We don't want to fight,
But by jingo, if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
We've got the money too.'

Chamberlain himself was the son of a Manchester manufacturer, the grandfather of the later prime minister, Neville Chamberlain. Convinced of Britain's destiny as an imperial race, he was less disposed than other statesmen to lose sleep over international complications which might be caused by an aggressive policy outside Europe. He was not alone in his assumption that God was on the side of the empire, and that other nations and above all other races

were less favoured. The age of the new imperialism was brash, self-confident, and in some ways devout. Chamberlain was its most typical mouthpiece. It was partly as a result of his cavalier attitude to foreign affairs that Britain became involved in the Boer War.

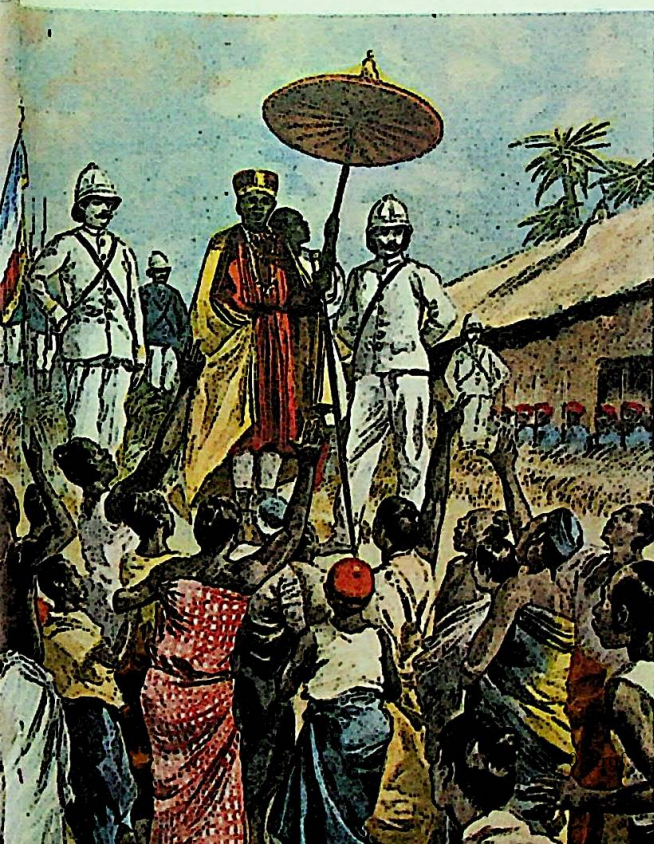
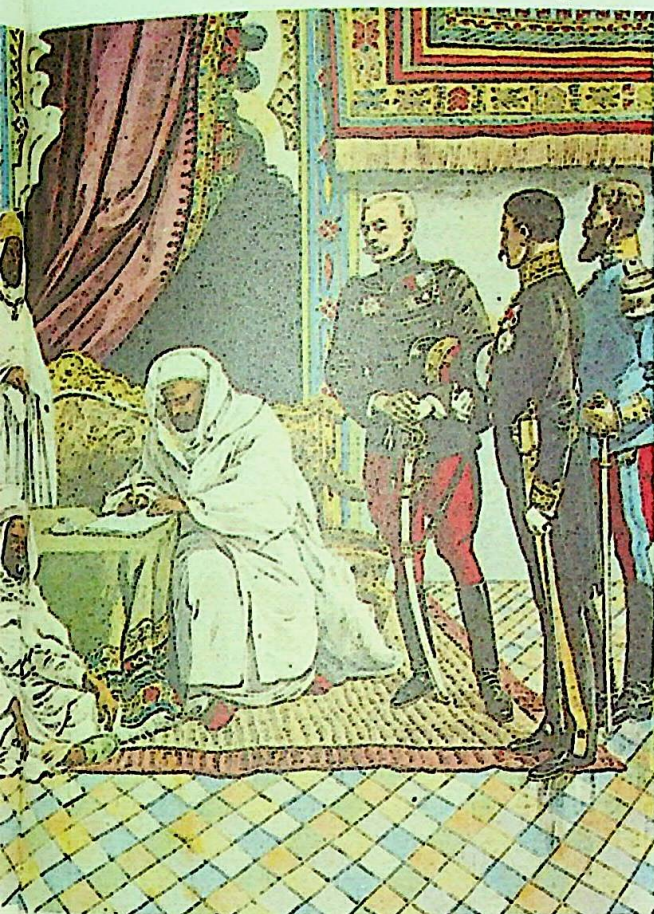
Although the new imperialism was certainly responsible for creating trouble with other powers, Britain's worst colonial troubles of the nineteenth century came in the old empire and not in new territory. As early as 1857 the precious possession of India had burst into revolt in the Indian Mutiny. Revolt swept across central India and the middle section of the Ganges, destroying everything European which stood in its way. Although they announced loyalty to the old Moghul Emperor Bahadur Shah, however, the mutineers lacked organisation or any real plan. Bengal and most of southern India remained loyal. At the end of the year, the relief of Lucknow by General Campbell made it possible to disperse the

The French found that desert warfare was very much like fighting by sea. Their first camel corps, (far left) made the conquest of North Africa easier.

Left: a Tuareg encampment.

Far right: Moroccan tribesmen struggle against French troops.

Below: the Sultan of Morocco finally abdicates, in 1912. France also seized large areas of West Africa.



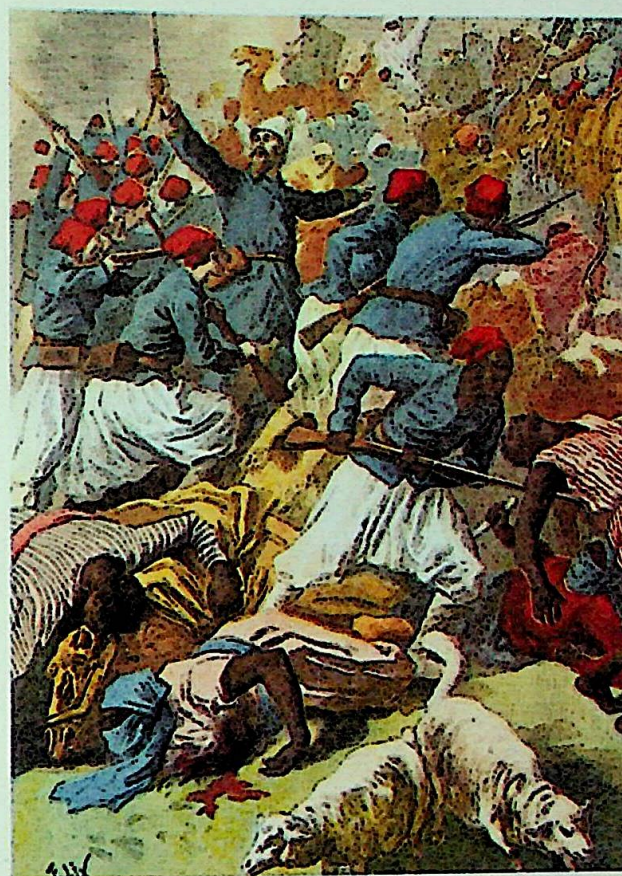
Bottom: French officers pose with their new puppet king of Dahomey, proclaimed in 1894. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

huge numbers of rebels.

Although relations between Britons and Indians had been poisoned for generations, Indian government was reorganised under the Indian Civil Service. India was still Britain's richest possession, and the key-point in imperial strategy. It was defended against the French by the British annexation of Burma in 1886, and against the Russians by an agreement over Tibet and Afghanistan in 1907. India's communications were also guarded by a line of way-stations stretching from London to Bombay, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, the Suez Canal, British Somaliland, Aden and Bahrein. Again, the British controlled the approaches to the Indian Ocean from their foothold in South Africa, while the maintenance of stability in Egypt, as the Canal Zone, was simply essential to them. These were the interests which led them into taking control of Egypt and fighting the Boer War.

The British on the Nile

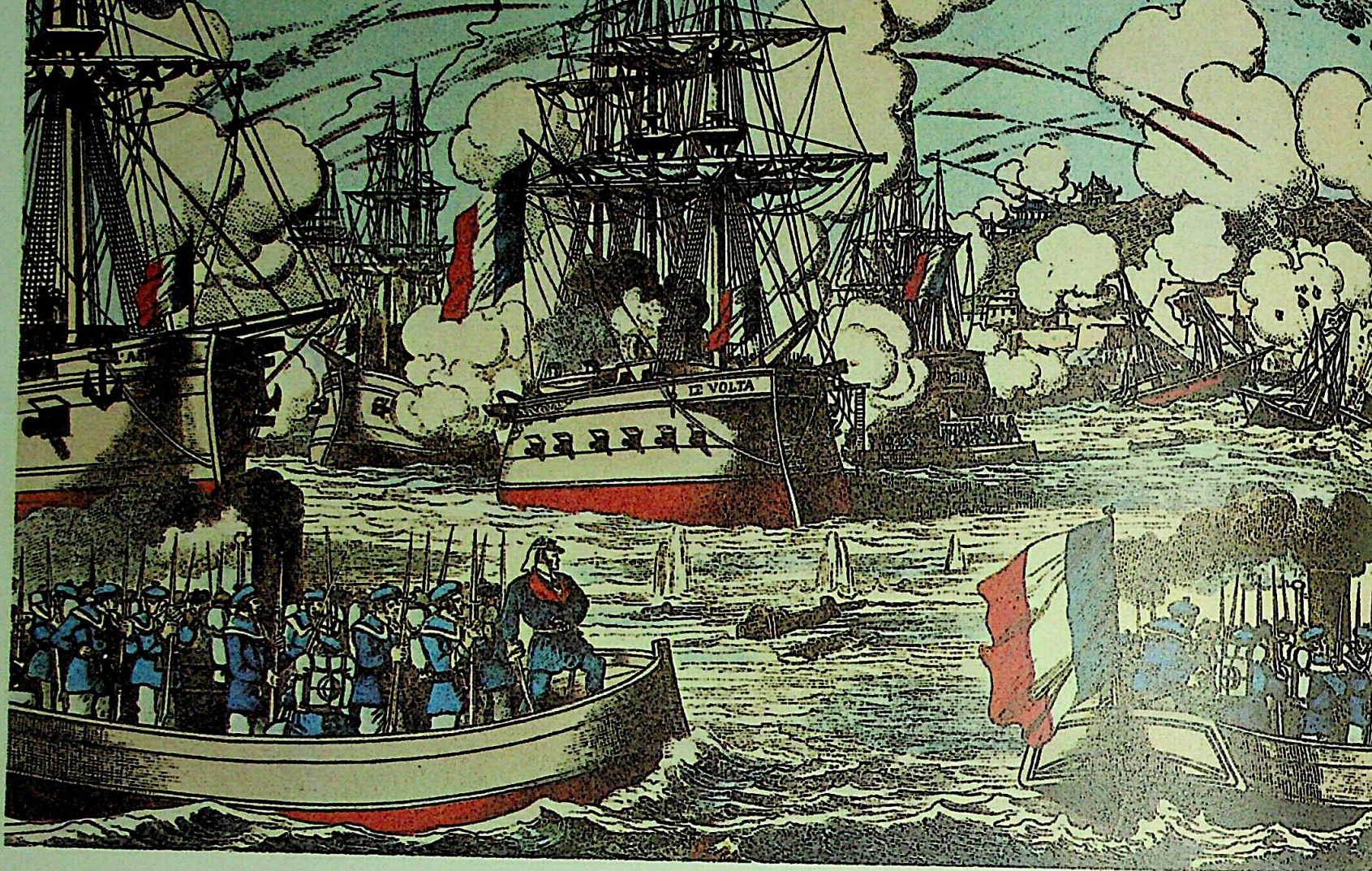
The building of the Suez Canal had been a French enterprise, directed by Viscount Ferdinand de Lesseps. Indeed Egypt became very much Frenchified in the 1860s. In 1875, however, the Khedive of Egypt, Ismael Pasha, faced bankruptcy due to his speculations in railway-building. Since the French had their own troubles at the time, Disraeli was left to bale him out of his difficulties, by buying the Khedive's personal shares in the Canal. Disraeli actually received the news that the shares were on sale while dining with Baron Lionel de Rothschild, a fellow-gourmet and another Jew who had broken into the circle of the European aristocracy. The four million required for the transaction were promptly raised from him. Britain became the principal shareholder in the Canal. Further complications arose when Ismael Pasha subsequently cancelled the interest on international Egyptian debts. The British and French accordingly formed a consortium to make him manage his money more sensibly. Among other economies, they had 2,500 army officers put on half-pay. These men joined with the masses of peasants suspicious of Western influence and crushed by taxes from Alexandria. When the Europeans responded to their criticism by deposing Ismael Pasha and installing his



son Tewfik Pasha, they forced the whole Egyptian Civil Service into alliance with the discontented elements.

A series of disturbances followed. The French did not intervene, although their North African interests were expanding with the consolidation of Algeria. The British shelled Alexandria on their own initiative, and landed an expeditionary force to restore order and take over the government. They were left in control of the Canal and the Egyptian capital. To consolidate their position, always thinking in terms of protecting the route to India, they found themselves forced to expand further and further inland. Ismael Pasha had never managed to bring the Sudan fully under control or stamp out the slave trade there.

In 1882 conditions deteriorated completely when a holy war on *jihad* was begun by a Muslim prophet calling himself the *Mahdi* or 'chosen one'. 'Chinese' Gordon, who had helped train the Manchu troops to fight the Taiping, had already advanced to



Above : the French bombard Foochow to intimidate China at the beginning of the Tonking War. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Khartoum, on the White Nile. The Mahdi's hordes took the city in 1885, killing all its defenders, including Gordon, a few days before a relief force arrived. The British could not leave the hinterland of Egypt under Mahdist control, although the Mahdi himself died a few months later. It was only in 1898, however, that the 'dervish' troops of his successor were defeated at Omdurman. Egyptian troops led by British advisers took control of the Sudan. Egypt and the Canal were now safe.

The Boer War

By a coincidence, the British general at Omdurman was Kitchener, later the hero of the relief of Ladysmith in the Boer War. The more general connection between these two conflicts is close. Control of the Cape was as essential to the protection of India as the Canal itself. Cape Colony, which had been taken from the Dutch during the Napoleonic Wars, controlled the entrance to the Indian Ocean. Its change of ownership, however, did not remove the Dutch population. From 1835 to 1837, the Afrikaans-speaking farmers of the Cape set out on the 'Great Trek' northwards, led by Piet Retief

and other heroes of Boer history, to escape from British rule. On reaching the rich grasslands they wanted, (against bloody opposition from the Zulu *impis*), they formed the little republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which were recognised by Britain in 1852 and 1854. Bitterness between Britain and the old-fashioned Calvinist Afrikaaners was increased by Sir Bartle Frere's unsuccessful attempt to re-annex the Transvaal in 1881, after the Zulu War.

The hatred of the Afrikaaners for those who wished to upset their way of life was further increased by the gold strikes of 1886 in the Witwatersrand. Boer society was threatened by the arrival of modern-minded businessmen and engineers, the *Uitlanders* or foreigners. A much worse threat was the covetousness of the great British imperialist Cecil Rhodes. The head of De Beers Mining Corporation and prime minister of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, he dreamt of a line of British territory running from Cape Town to Cairo. This would link the Suez route to India with the Cape one, and would make the British Empire in India strategically impregnable.

Since a strong Boer Transvaal stood in the way of this plan, Rhodes tried to force it into a British dominated federation ruled from Cape Town. He then harried the Transvaal by annexing the territory around it. When its president, Paul Kruger, stood firm, he took the part of the dissident *Uitlanders*, and then mounted the disastrous

Jameson Raid on Johannesburg on their behalf. It failed dismally, and enabled the kaiser to make capital out of British blunders by denouncing this attack on the 'infant republic'.

Chamberlain fully supported Rhodes' plans and in spite of Salisbury's doubts he went ahead to provoke the Boer War, Britain's greatest conflict since the American Revolution. This unnecessary war broke out in 1899, after Sir Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, made impossible demands on behalf of the *Uitlanders*. The superb irregular cavalry of the Transvaal and the Free State gave an excellent account of itself. The first British reinforcements were outfought, but recovered ground after Lord Roberts, or 'Bobs' as his men called him, took command. His most successful generals were Kitchener and Sir John French, the future hero of Ypres.

After bitter guerrilla warfare, Kruger signed the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902. Given the brutality of the war, the settlement was statesmanlike. The British actually gave £3,000,000 in reparations to make good the damage done by their scorched earth policy. In 1906 Campbell-Bannerman's liberal government gave self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Four years later they united with Cape Colony and Natal to form the Union of South Africa, the federated unit of which Rhodes had dreamt. With Egypt, Burma, and South Africa under British control, the



Left: the Amazons of Dahomey were all the more formidable because of their modern rifles.

Bottom: bitter fighting in the Madagascar campaign, which followed in 1895.

safety of India was guaranteed.

British interests in Africa were not confined to Egypt and South Africa. Spurred on by the activities of other powers, Britain joined in the 'scramble for Africa' after the Berlin Conference of 1884. Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Gambia, and British Somaliland were all annexed during this period. This is not to mention swathes of territory like Bechuanaland, Zululand, Pondoland, and Rhodesia itself, which were seized in the south under Rhodes' influence.

The French in North Africa

The Joseph Chamberlain of the Third Republic was Jules Ferry. He too carried his aggressive policies against strong opposition from both left and right. By the 'nineties, however, his ideas had been taken up by a pressure group in the Chamber led by the Algerian-born deputy Eugène Etienne. He cooperated with two bodies out of doors, the *Comité d'Afrique Française*, and after 1893 the *Union Coloniale*. Indeed it was only after 1890 that France made her main gains south of the Sahara.

France's first commitment in Africa, of course, was to Algeria. Although she had defeated 'Abd el Kadar by 1845, the first programme to dispossess the tribesmen of their land did not come until 1871, when the first *colons* from Alsace were settled. This

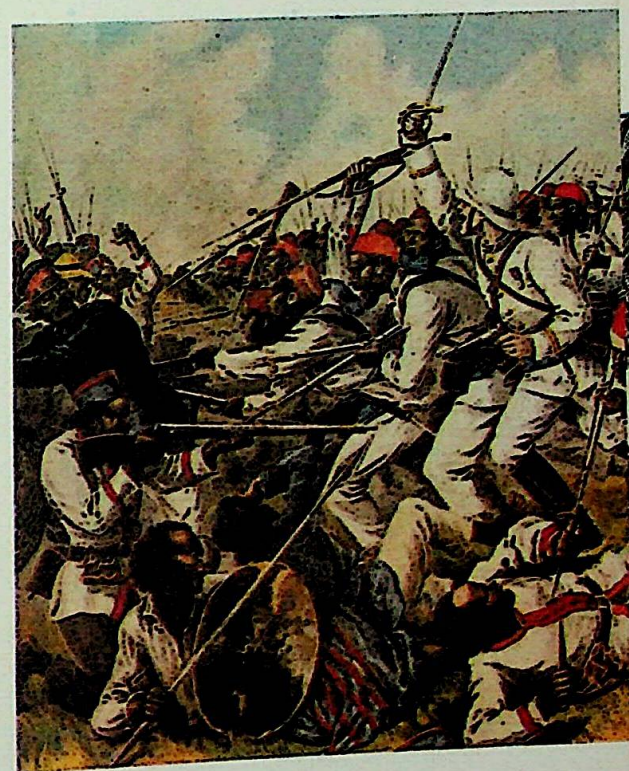
produced a serious uprising. It only brought confiscations which were given to new bodies of settlers. Although Algeria technically became part of metropolitan France, its franchise was narrow, and rule still lay effectively with a governor appointed in Paris.

The impossibility of winning the loyalty of its tribesmen did not prevent the French from turning their attention to Tunisia, which became their protectorate in 1881, in spite of the ambitions of the new united Italy there.

The last part of French North Africa to be annexed was Morocco. Constantly in a state of disorder, its independence was a standing threat to the Algerian border. In 1903 Colonel Louis Lyautey was sent in to restore stability, and Morocco became a French sphere of influence after Casablanca was occupied in 1907. In spite of strong German suspicion of France, the powers recognised a French Moroccan protectorate in 1912. Lyautey's wise administration and the defeat of the fierce nomadic Tuaregs on the Algerian frontier, ensured that North Africa was firmly under French control by 1914.

West Africa

Although other annexations were going on throughout the world, no area shows the





rivalries of the imperialist powers better than West Africa. Although control of forts at Lagos, in the Gold Coast (Ghana), and Sierra Leone made the British strong in the area, the French had maintained trading stations on the Senegal since the great days of the slave trade in the eighteenth century. They also had interests in modern Guinea and the Ivory Coast, though they had not carried out any inland penetration.

It was Senegal which first became a real French colony. The greatest of the French colonialists, Louis Léon César Faidherbe, became governor there in 1853. In his first few years in office, he attacked the Senegalese traders who levied an exorbitant 'tribute' on all trade passing down the Senegal. He also checked the expansion of the Muslim leader Al Hajj 'Umar, whose strong state on the upper Niger was threatening to extend into the Senegal Valley. During tours of duty which went on until 1886, Faidherbe remodelled Senegal. Its Islamic population became loyal citizens of the Republic, and the Senegalese riflemen came to be one of the crack units of the French Army.

Faidherbe, and other French leaders, began to dream of a French Empire which would stretch from Senegal across the Sudan

to the Indian Ocean. This would also link up with the new territories in North Africa. On the other hand, it could not avoid clashing with the plans of Rhodes and the British to secure communications from Cairo to the Cape.

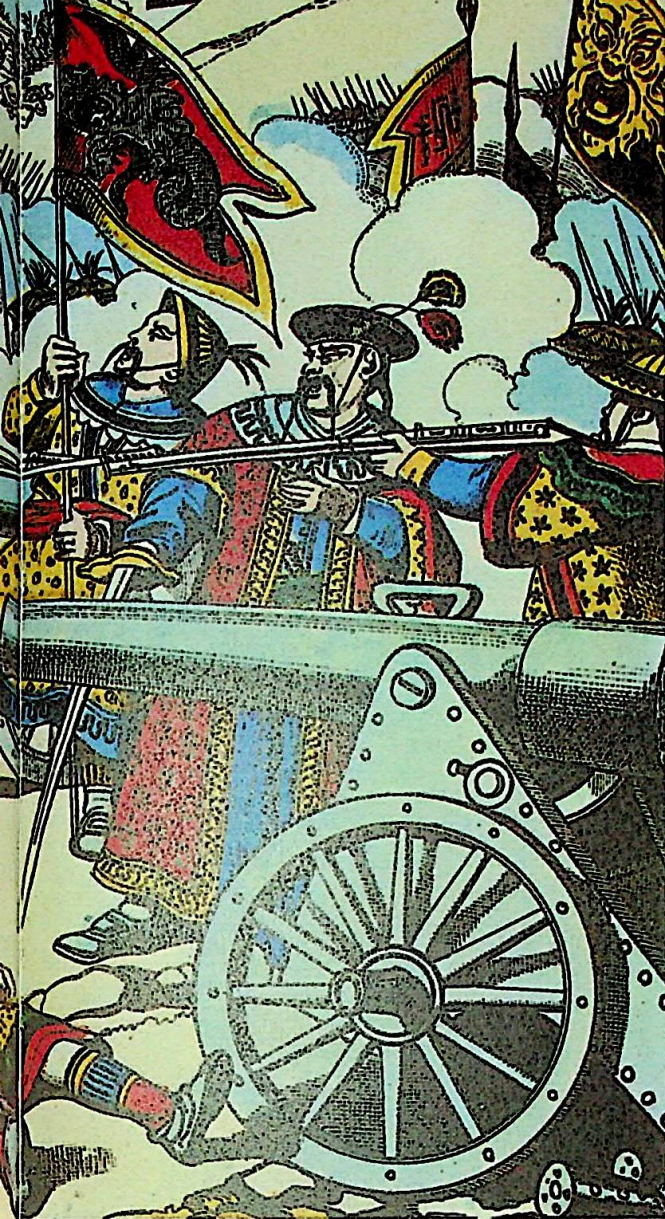
Equally difficult was the subjugation of West Africa itself. Al Hajj 'Umar was not the only Islamic leader who waged the jihad against the French. His son Ahmadu Bello, ruling a state of great sophistication which dominated the western Sudan, was only defeated in 1893. After this there was still resistance from Samori, the most likeable and least cultured of these Muslim princes, which went on until 1898. Indeed the European advance in West Africa was partly governed by the behaviour of the strong Islamic states which stood in its way.

The scramble

The advance was also moulded by the relations of the powers with one another. King Leopold's interests in the Congo and the intervention of the Germans created fears that if territory was not seized soon, it would no longer be available. Between 1883 and 1885, the Germans annexed Togo,

Kamerun, German East Africa (Tanzania), and German South-West Africa. In 1885, the Congress of Berlin, called by Bismarck, in effect laid down the rules for the partition of Africa. Although it also gave the Belgian Congo recognition and access to the sea, this alarmed the French into seizing the French Congo to the north of Leopold's state. Sir George Goldie, a director of the Royal Niger Company, was alarmed by the German and French advance into seizing Nigeria, which had been brilliantly subdued by Lord Lugard by the end of the century. The French advanced into Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and eventually Dahomey. To keep them out of the Gold Coast, the British pushed their long standing grievances with the kingdom of the Ashanti to a conclusion in 1896.

Meanwhile British concern over German interests in modern Tanzania produced a similar policy in East Africa. Salisbury had Kenya declared a British sphere of influence in 1886, and it became a protectorate in 1893. In 1890 Lugard had arrived in Kampala with his one maxim gun, and taken the part of the Protestants or *wa-ingleza* (the English party), against the *wa-franza* (the French party), Catholics converted by Lavigerie's



famous White Fathers. The Imperial British East Africa Company then opened up the territory, and it too became a protectorate in 1894. The last power to enter the scramble was another new one, Italy, which managed to satisfy its hunger for national greatness by seizing Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and part of Somaliland, in 1889.

Fashoda

Unfortunately this first stage of the scramble did not solve the problem of conflict between British and French imperial ambitions, which cut directly across one another. In 1896 the French, long humiliated by Germany at home, and determined to compensate by seizing the kind of empire they wanted abroad, sent Marchand from the Congo to forestall British Cape-Cairo ambitions by annexing the headwaters of the Nile. Marchand and his tiny force sailed up the Ubangui River on their little steamer, the

France fought in North Vietnam for two long years.

Left: the Battle of Nam Dinh, in 1883.

Below: the fortifications of Lang Son fall in 1885. After this, France managed to formalise a protectorate over Annam, or North Vietnam, which eventually became part of French Indo-China. With the British entrenched in Burma, Siam remained as an uncomfortable buffer state between the two great imperialist powers. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Faidherbe. When it could go no further, they dismantled it and dragged it through the jungle, in the hope of being able to relaunch it on the Nile. After two years of travel, they reached the station of Fashoda, on the Nile. Four days later it was approached by Kitchener, with a greatly superior British force, fresh from the victory of Omdurman.

A full-scale conflict was only avoided by the courtesy and tact of these two soldiers, who agreed that until orders arrived the British flag should fly over the town and the French one over the fort. Even this did not prevent a major international crisis. Only the threat of war persuaded Delcassé, the French foreign minister, that Marchand's troops should be withdrawn. Once the crisis blew over, however, the main barrier to Anglo-French understanding had been removed. From now on the two nations gradually moved together to become allies in the First World War.

China and South-East Asia

While the European nations were dividing the spoils of Africa, they continued the expansion of the earlier part of the century in the Far East. To protect India against the French advance in Indo-China, the British annexed Burma in 1886. However, French penetration had been greatly slowed up by the disaster of 1871, and by Garnier's discovery that control of the Mekong would not give the expected access to China's markets.

Attention now turned to the Red River and the Gulf of Tonking. Although Hanoi was taken in 1873, the state of Annam (North Vietnam) was surprisingly strong, and the ancient city could not be held. The only result of further attempts to take Hanoi was a disastrous reverse in 1883. This provoked Ferry and the French jingoists to a firmer policy. After bombarding Foo-chow, outside Canton, to discourage Chinese protests, the French finally annexed Annam. It was soon pacified, while neighbouring Laos became a protectorate a few years later. Although Siam remained independent, Britain and France had now divided all of mainland South-East Asia between them.

China itself was a little luckier. Although the Manchus were constantly humiliated during the era of concessions, they did at least remain in possession of the bulk of their land, if only because the mutual jealousies of the powers kept them cautious about annexation. Nevertheless, such scramble as there was in China was again triggered off by German action, when Admiral Tirpitz took the port of Kow-chow in 1897. Russia at once grabbed the precious warm-water harbour of Port Arthur, the French took Kwang-chow in the south, and the British bullied the Chinese into granting a lease of Wei-hei-wei.

In 1898, the Americans also gained a foothold in the China Sea by conquering the

Spanish Philippines. Anxious to gain further advantages in China, John Hay, the American Secretary of State, confirmed the delicate balance of Western interests by announcing (untruthfully), that the powers had agreed to his 'open door' policy. Any concession gained by one Western power was now to be open to all. In the next year, 1900, the powers actually co-operated in putting down the Boxer Rebellion. Fanatical anti-Western rebels besieged the Peking diplomatic community in the British legation. Eventually the siege was lifted by an international task force. This action confirmed first that the powers could not fully dismember China against each other's interests, secondly that the Manchus had become powerless, and finally that America had become a world power.

The twentieth century

The rise of America was to be one of the main developments of the twentieth century. As for modern Europe, it has been largely created by the '-isms' of the nineteenth.

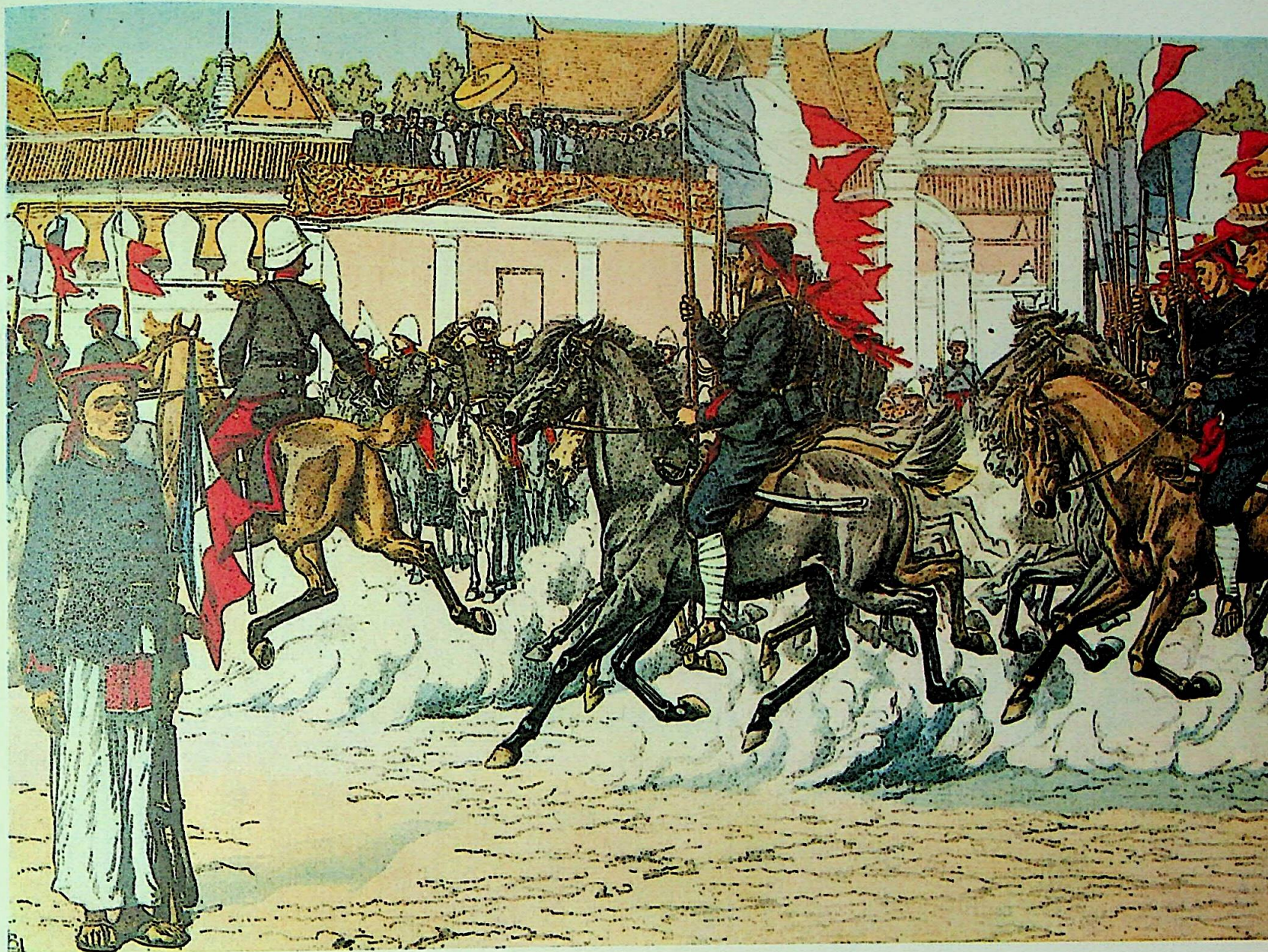
Indeed nationalism, industrialism, socialism, communism, even imperialism, are still vital forces in the world of our own time. After the 1860s, the rise of new states refashioned the balance of power in Europe. As nationalism flourished so too did patriotism. Together with the speeding up of industrialisation this encouraged the West to spread its rule throughout the world.

After the eighteen-sixties, the rise of new states refashioned the balance of power in Europe. As nationalism flourished so too did patriotism. Together with the speeding up of industrialisation this encouraged the West to spread its rule throughout the world.

Since the turn of the century, too, the ambitions of the nations have involved them in the devastating wars of 1914 and 1939. Partly due to these wars, Europe's world leadership has weakened, and her rule over other continents been challenged. The dominant powers of our own generation are two young non-European ones, the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

Below: war feeling rises against the French in Madagascar.





*Above: French-officered Vietnamese
cavalry. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*

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